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THE LIVES OF THE POPES

VOL XII.

LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN, D.D.

Demy 8vo. Vol. I. in Two Parts. Vols. IV.-XII. are illustrated.

Father Mann starts his *magnum opus* at the Pontificate of St. Gregory the Great. The work embraces the following volumes: I.—The Popes under the Lombard Rule; II. and III.—The Popes during the Carolingian Empire; IV. and V.—The Popes in the Days of Feudal Anarchy; VI. to VIII.—The Popes of the Gregorian Renaissance; IX., X., etc.—The Popes at the height of their Temporal Influence, 1130-1305.

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THE
LIVES OF THE POPES
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN, D.D.

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D. 747-752*, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289).

HEAD MASTER OF ST. CUTHBERT'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF SPAIN

THE POPES AT THE HEIGHT OF THEIR
TEMPORAL INFLUENCE

INNOCENT II. TO BLESSED BENEDICT XI.

1130-1305

(A) THE POPES AND THE HOHENSTAUFEN, 1130-1271

VOL. XII.—INNOCENT III., 1198-1216

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To
HIS EMINENCE
CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL
SECRETARY OF STATE
TO
POPE PIUS X
THIS BIOGRAPHY
OF
ONE OF THE GREATEST OF THE ROMAN PONTIFFS
Is respectfully Dedicated
BY
THE AUTHOR
IN MEMORY OF HAPPY USHAW DAYS
IN THE YEARS
OF
LONG AGO

A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Jaffé, or Regesta . . .	=	<i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</i> , ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
Potthast . . .	=	<i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</i> , ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols., Berlin, 1874.
Labbe . . .	=	<i>Sacrosancta Concilia</i> , ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
L. P., <i>Anastasius</i> , or the <i>Book of the Popes</i> }	=	<i>Liber Pontificalis</i> , 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
M. G. H., or Pertz . . .	=	<i>Monumenta Germaniæ Historica</i> , either <i>Scriptores</i> (M. G. SS.) or <i>Epistolæ</i> (M. G. Epp.) or <i>Poetæ</i> (M. G. PP.).
P. G.	=	<i>Patrologia Græca</i> , ed. Migne, Paris.
P. L.	=	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. Migne, Paris.
R. I. SS.	=	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i> , ed. Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.
R. F. SS.	=	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules</i> , ed. Bouquet and others, Paris, 1738 ff.
R. S., following an edition of a book }	=	The edition of the Chronicles, etc., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed.

The sign * placed before the title of a book indicates that the author of these volumes has seen the book in question well spoken of, but has not had the opportunity of examining it himself.

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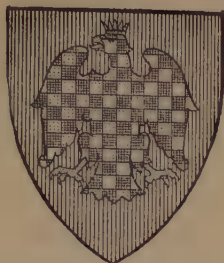
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Gules an eagle displayed chequy or and sable
membered and crowned of the first.

INNOCENT III.

(Continued.)

A.D. 1198-1216.

BOOK III. (continued).

CHAPTER III.

THE COUNTRIES OF THE EAST OF EUROPE.

Sources.—As sources for this chapter we may quote A. Theiner, *Vetera Mon. Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantium*, Rome, 1863; *Vetera Monumenta hist. Hungar.*, Rome, 1859; Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnæ*, Zagrabiæ (Agram), 1892; Kukuljević, *Regesta Documentorum regni Croatiae, Dalmatiæ, et Slavoniæ*, Sæc. xiii., Zagrabiæ, 1896; *Codex Diplomaticus Majoris Poloniæ*, ed. Soc. liter. Pozonaniensis, Posen, 1877; Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomat. regni Croatiae, Dalmatiæ, et Slavoniæ*, Zagrabiæ, 1904; Turgenevius, *Hist. Russiæ Mon.*, St. Petersburg, 1841; S. Endlicher, *Rerum Hungaricarum Mon. Arpadiana*, Sangalli, 1849; G. Friedrich, *Codex Diplomaticus et epistolarius regni Bohemiæ*, vol. ii., Prague, 1912; and Emler, *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. i. ff., Prague, 1873; L. de Thallóczy, *Acta et diplomata res Albanæ med. ætatis illustrantia*, i., Vienna, 1913.

Modern Works.—In addition to works already cited in preceding volumes on Hungary, etc., see Luchaire, v. chap. ii.; Sayous,

Les Bulgares, Les croisés Français et Innocent III., ap. *Études sur la relig. Romaine et le Moyen Age Oriental*, Paris, 1889; Bouquet, *Hist. du peuple Bulgare*, Paris, 1909; A. d'Avril, *La Serbie Chrétienne*, Paris, 1897; and W. Miller, "Bosnia before the Turkish Conquest," ap. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Oct. 1898, p. 643 ff.

HUNGARY.

A disputed
succession.

OF all the countries in the Near East, the one in which the Papacy had perhaps the greatest interest was Hungary.¹ Ever since their conversion to Christianity at the end of the tenth century, the Hungarians had been specially attached to the Holy See. Their sainted sovereign King Stephen I., who stands to them as Alfred the Great stands to us, or as St. Louis IX. stands to the French, had received his crown from Rome, and his successors had in turn been loyal to the Popes, owing allegiance to them, and supporting them energetically in the work of the Crusades.

A year or two before Innocent became Pope, the enlightened Hungarian monarch, Béla III., died (1196).² He had made a vow to take the Cross, but his last illness overtook him before he had time to fulfil his vow, and he charged his younger son Andrew to fulfil it in his behalf.³

¹ There are extant 125 bulls of Innocent III. relative to Hungary. It has been pointed out that for the eleventh and twelfth centuries there are only 25; but then it must be remembered that the registers of all the Popes of those two centuries have perished.

² He is known as "Græcus," because he had for a long time been at the Court of Byzantium. He introduced important reforms into Hungary: "peticionibusque loqui traxit originem, ut romana habet curia et imperii." So says Simon de Keza, a cleric of Ladislaus IV. (1272-1290), *Gesta Hungar.*, ap. Endlicher, p. 119. Cf. *Chron. Poson.*, *ib.*, p. 57. The procedure of the Roman Curia, itself originally modelled on that of the Roman Empire, became in turn, as this passage hints, the model according to which the legal procedures of many European countries were drawn up.

³ Sayous, *Hist. des Hongrois*, i. p. 193; ep. Inn., i. 10; *Chron. reg. Colon., cont.*, an. 1199, pp. 168-9.

The death of Béla III., whose devotion to the Holy See is praised by the Pope,¹ brought trouble to Hungary and to the Pope. Of Béla's sons, the eldest, Emeric (Imré or Henry), his successor, was a man somewhat wanting in energy, whereas the second son, Andrew, was at once ambitious and pushing. On pretence of fulfilling his father's vow, he collected men and money, and then used them with no little success against his brother. Emeric appealed to Rome for help, and first Celestine III. and then Innocent III. exerted themselves in his behalf. In his interests Innocent permitted many important men in the kingdom to put off the fulfilment of their vow to take the Cross till tranquillity should be restored to the kingdom;² summoned before him ecclesiastics who were said to be supporting Andrew;³ exhorted that prince honestly to fulfil the vow he had freely made to take the Cross, under penalty of not succeeding to the crown of Hungary should Emeric die without an heir (January 1198);⁴ and warned him that he had instructed the bishops of Hungary to excommunicate him and his followers, and to lay their territories under an interdict, if they should venture to wage war on King Emeric.⁵ And, as justifying this strong action in the internal affairs of Hungary, Innocent wrote thus to "the noble man, Duke Andrew": "Such devotion has ever joined

¹ i. 270, where the Pope speaks of the "prærogativa devotionis quam illustris recordationis Bela pater tuus exhibuit apostolicæ sedi." Cf. i. 271, and vii. 127.

² Ep. i. 5, 270.

³ Ep. i. 7. Cf. i. 510-11.

⁴ i. 10, January 1198. "Sciturus . . . jure quod tibi, si dictus rex sine prole decederet, in regno Ungariæ competeat ordine genituræ privandum, et regnum ipsum ad minorem fratrem tuum appellatione postposita devolvendum."

⁵ i. 271, June 15, to "nobili viro A (Andrew) duci." This letter, of which an extract is cited by Luchaire (p. 66), is referred to by him as addressed to *Emeric*, and as dated June 11. Unfortunately, the volumes of Luchaire contain many such inaccuracies.

the kingdom of Hungary to the Holy See, and such sincere love has ever united the Church to that kingdom, that the Apostolic See has always, both in spiritual and temporal concerns, bestowed upon it true fatherly solicitude, and the kingdom of Hungary in turn has never in any emergency separated itself from the faith and unity of the Apostolic See."¹

But Andrew paid no heed either to the claims of his elder brother or to the threats of Innocent, the suzerain of Hungary.² Emeric, who styled himself, "by the grace of God, king of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Rama" (which then embraced part of Bosnia and Herzegovina), had again to face a fresh effort made by Andrew to deprive him of his kingdom. On this occasion he was successful, and Andrew had to fly to the protection of the duke of Austria, from whom he had already received support (1199).

Efforts of
the Pope
to induce
Emeric or
his brother
to march to
Palestine.

More than ever anxious for permanent peace between the two brothers, inasmuch as the Fourth Crusade was in active preparation, Innocent despatched Gregory, cardinal-deacon of Sta. Maria in Aquiro, to negotiate between the rivals (March 2, 1200). He considered, he said, "the prosperity and adversity of Hungary as his own."³ By the efforts of the cardinal a peace was

¹ Ep. i. 271. "Regnum ipsum a *fide* ac unitate sedis apostolicæ nulla recesserit tempestate." He goes on to speak of the loyalty of King Béla to Rome in the time of the schism, when "nostri Piscatoris navicula tumultuosis fluctibus jactabatur." Luchaire writes of Hungary's *fidelity* to Rome, and appears to suppose that the original was "fidelitate," and not "fide."

² When confirming the right of the archbishop of Gran (Strigonium) to crown the kings of Hungary, Innocent does so: "salva semper sedis apostolicæ auctoritate, a *qua Hungarici regni corona processit*."

³ Ep. ap. Smičiklas, *Cod.*, ii. p. 347. He was sent because many matters in Hungary "provisione sedis apostolicæ indigere." The kingdom has been so solidly attached to the Holy See "ut ipsius prospera et adversa tanquam propria reputemus." Cf. vi. 131; vii. 127.

arranged, and both brothers agreed to take the Cross. But they did not trust one another, and when Innocent tried to put pressure upon Emeric to fulfil his vow he was told that, owing to the enmity of Culin the Ban of Bosnia, the bishops of Hungary declared it was not safe for the king to leave the country. The Pope could, therefore, only urge him to take the Cross "if it could be done without danger to the kingdom" (November 8, 1200).¹ Before the end of the year fresh difficulties arose. The Venetians succeeded in inducing the Crusaders to seize Zara, then under the sway of Hungary; and in the beginning of the year 1203 Emeric, now calling himself king of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Rama, and Servia, after thanking Innocent for the way in which he had upbraided the Crusaders for their conduct, begged him to continue his exertions for the restoration of Zara to its rightful owner.²

When the Pope had to some extent been able to satisfy Emeric's just demands, he again urged the question of a Crusade. To encourage him "to lead the pilgrims to their fatherland," Innocent ordered the bishops of Hungary to cause all to take the oath of fealty to his son, the young Ladislaus,³ and he assured the king that he would be responsible for his kingdom in his absence.⁴ Still further to facilitate matters, he, as it would appear, again sent Gregory, now cardinal-priest of St. Vitalis, to arrange a final understanding between the two brothers. But, as it would seem, immediately after the departure of the cardinal, hostilities once more broke out between them. They ended in the capture

¹ Ep. v. 103.

² See his letter to Innocent, ap. Smičiklas, iii. p. 16. "Unde sanctitatem vestram modis quibus possumus exoramus ut . . . barones . . . compellatis, ut civitatem nostram in priori statu et integritate . . . restituant."

³ Ep. vi. 4, February 1203.

⁴ vi. 8.

and incarceration of Andrew (October? 1203).¹ Hence, when, in November, Innocent was confirming the agreement made by Cardinal Gregory, and exhorting Emeric to help Andrew to lead a Crusade,² that monarch had him a prisoner in a fortress.

Trouble
between
Emeric
and Inno-
cent, 1204.

Trusting, no doubt, that the seizure of Andrew had now smoothed the way for Emeric's departure for the Holy Land, Innocent gave the archbishop of Gran permission to crown Ladislaus, "though he was a minor," on condition of his receiving "from the father in person the oath concerning obedience to the Apostolic See and the liberty of the Hungarian Church which his predecessors had taken with humble dutifulness" (1204).³

But now Emeric's relations with neighbouring states not only prevented him from going to the Holy Land, but brought about trouble with Rome. At this time the Balkan peninsula was in a ferment. Bulgaria, as we have seen, had thrown off its allegiance to Constantinople, was striving to enlarge its boundaries, and had designs on Servia,⁴ of which Emeric called himself king. Its monarch, Jonitza, was also trying to obtain a regal crown from Rome. At the same time Stephen II., "the first crowned," the Megajupan of Servia, was working for the same object.⁵ Culin, the Ban of Bosnia, was endeavouring to keep himself independent of Emeric,

¹ Cf. Thomas of Salona, *Hist.*, c. 23, p. 81, ed. Rački. Innocent alludes to Andrew's capture, ep. vii. 126 *sub fin.*

² Cf. epp. vi. 155-7, November 5, 1203. Cf. *Gesta*, c. 128.

³ Ep. vii. 57, April 1204. "Recepturus ab ipso patre, filii sui vice, corporaliter iuramentum super apostolicæ sedis obedientiam, quam super Ecclesiæ Ungariæ libertate, sicut progenitores sui cum humilitate ac devotione debita impenderunt." There would appear to be some faulty reading here. Perhaps we should read: "iuramentum (tam) super apostolicæ sedi obedientia, quam super," etc. Cf. Luchaire, v. 66-7.

⁴ Ep. vii. 127.

⁵ Cf. vii. 127.

and was for that purpose favouring the Bogomilian heretics.¹ And if Emeric also called himself king of Dalmatia, he had as little real power in Dalmatia as he had in Servia; for Vulcan (Voukan), the brother of Stephen II. of Servia, was, as he styled himself, king of Dioclea and Dalmatia.² To comply with the Bulgarian demands, Innocent had despatched Leo, cardinal-priest of Sta. Croce, to crown Jonitza. The cardinal in passing through Hungary was well received, but when he was about to enter Bulgaria he was suddenly stopped by order of Emeric, and had, with his suite, to submit to a most humiliating confinement.³ At the same time Emeric expressed his indignant surprise that the Pope should think of crowning an upstart Bulgar who, in the first place, had no right to any territory at all, and, in the second place, had dared to attack Servian lands subject to the crown of Hungary.⁴

In his replies to Emeric, sent both directly and through his legate, Innocent expressed his grief and astonishment at the conduct of the Hungarian monarch, impressing upon him in a small note (*cedula interclusa*), enclosed in the principal letter, that he had written to him in a milder strain than the occasion demanded, because he did not wish it to be thought that he had lost the apostolic

¹ Cf. the letter of Vulcan, king of Dalmatia (who boasted his racial affinity with Innocent—"vestri generosi sanguinis affinitatem habere cognovimus"), to Innocent, ap. Smičiklas, ii. p. 333, and Coquelle, *Hist. de Monténégro et de la Bosnie*, pp. 80-1.

² See his letter of 1199 just quoted. Cf. Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, *The Servian People*, ii. p. 455.

³ Ep. vii. 126, September 15, 1204. "Adeo ipsum [the cardinal] comprimunt, quod ostium cameræ, si camera dici debet, observant, ut taceamus quæ sibi et suis circa necessaria naturæ viliter irrogantur."

⁴ Ep. vii. 127, September 15, 1204, addressed to Cardinal Leo in reply to Emeric's protests. "Scripsisti (Emeric), quoniam Joanitius . . . terram Serviæ tuæ coronæ subjectam . . . crudeliter devastavit," etc,

favour.¹ Then, in detailed answer to the king's protests, he pointed out that the Bulgarian Jonitza was the descendant of a race of kings who had long before received crowns from the Holy See; that the Greeks had ruined the independence of the Bulgarian people; and that Jonitza and his brother Peter had just begun to recover the territory of their fathers. He regretted that Jonitza had attacked Emeric's territory; he would arrange an understanding between the two rulers, and would instruct his legate to crown Jonitza as king only of his own territory.² "Because, although we love Jonitza, we love you incomparably more."

With regard to Servia, Innocent said that he would remind Emeric that Stephen (II., known as the "first crowned"),³ the Megajupan of Servia, had promised to bring back his country to the Roman obedience and had asked for a crown. This request, continued Innocent, we granted, and sent the cardinal-bishop of Albano to bestow the crown; but when we found that this would "greatly displease your highness, we, not without confusion, withdrew from the undertaking." But after you had overcome Stephen (1202) and replaced him by his younger brother Vulcan (or Voukan),⁴ you intimated that you wished to bring back Servia to the obedience of the Roman Church, and that you were willing that Vulcan

¹ vii. 126.

² Hence his instruction to Cardinal Leo: "Mandamus quatenus prædictum Joannitium non super alienam terram, sed super propriam coronas in regem." Ep. vii. 127 *sub fin.*

³ Stephen I., Nemanya (retired to Mt. Athos, 1195), was the first real king of Servia, but he was not crowned. He had attached his country to the religion of Constantinople. When he did this is uncertain. A letter of Clement III. (November 25, 1189) shows him in communion with Rome at that date. Ap. Smičiklas, ii. p. 238.

⁴ Stephen I. left Servia to his eldest son, Stephen II. This annoyed Vulcan, who had to be content with Zeta (Montenegro), and made him ready to favour the designs of Emeric against Stephen II.

should receive a crown from Rome, if it were worn with subjection to yourself.¹ "Do not," concluded the Pope, "hinder the spread of the Catholic faith, or of the influence of the Apostolic See."

The representations or protests of the legate, however, had already prevailed,² and he continued his journey and crowned Jonitza.

This incident was barely closed when Emeric died (December 1204), and Innocent practically found himself in the position of guardian of his youthful son Ladislaus. The dying king had trustfully commended his son to his brother Andrew, whom he had released from prison for the purpose.³ The new regent at once notified his position to Innocent, who exhorted him to be true to the youth, and called upon all the nobles and bishops of the country to be loyal to the young king and to those who were his tutors.⁴

Innocent
protects
the young
Ladislaus.

But Ladislaus did not survive his father a year and a half (†May 1205), and Andrew at last reached the throne he had so long desired. Innocent felt himself regretfully compelled to refuse the new king's first request,⁵ but he showed his goodwill towards him by ordering all the nobles of Hungary to take the oath of fealty to Andrew's son as soon as he should be born.⁶

Andrew's
relations
with Inno-
cent.

¹ vii. 127. Cf. vii. 126, September 15, 1204, to Emeric. "Tu, quoque, si bene recolimus, suggessisti, quod tuæ serenitati placebat, ut Megajuppanus Serviciæ debitam . . . apostolicæ sedi . . . obedientiam exhiberet et a nobis, salvo in temporalibus jure tuo, regium susciperet diadema." Cf. 525-28.

² vii. 137, October 4, 1204. This letter shows that Emeric had repented of his violence before the Pope's letters of reproof had reached him.

³ Thomas of Salona, c. 23.

⁴ Ep. viii. 36-42, April 25, 1205.

⁵ viii. 88, June 24, 1205. Cf. vii. 159, 226; viii. 139-40. In viii. 107, Innocent again fails to grant Andrew a favour, and exhorts him to loyalty to the Roman Church. Cf. viii. 127.

⁶ ix. 76, June 7, 1206.

Unfortunately, the new king's wife, Gertrude, daughter of the duke of Merania in the Tyrol, was an avaricious, unscrupulous woman anxious only to forward the interests of her countrymen. Among others whom she wished to benefit was her brother (*germanus*) Berthold, provost of Bamberg, whom she desired to see archbishop of the vacant see of Colocsa. In response to Andrew's request that the Pope would acknowledge the provost and send him the pallium, Innocent replied that he would gladly confirm the election of one whom the king had declared useful and even necessary for his kingdom, but he must first be informed as to the age and learning of the candidate.¹ The result of the inquiry into these points ordered by the Pope was unfavourable to Berthold. Innocent, accordingly, told the king that he much regretted that the candidate's age and want of learning were such that he could not confirm his election, seeing that an archbishop had to be "a father of fathers and a master of masters."² Some months later, however, in consequence of a renewed request for Berthold on the part of the canons of the cathedral of Colocsa, supported, of course, by the king, Innocent gave way, as he was assured that the candidate's knowledge was at least "competent," that he was of good character, and that his election was "necessary" and useful.³ But he soon had cause to regret his condescension. Reports reached him that, not content

¹ Ep. ix. 74, June 1206. On November 29, 1206, Innocent sent a letter to congratulate Andrew on the birth of a son. Ap. Pitra, *De epp. Rom. Pont.*, p. 520.

² x. 39, April 7, 1207. The provost was twenty-five years old. The report on his learning is curious. The appointed examiners declared that they found him "textum expedite legentem, ei interpretantem ejusdem verba suo idiomate competenter, et apte præterea de constructione grammatica respondentem." But if his classical attainments were tolerable, Innocent declared "eum nec in jure canonico nec in divino eloquio vel tenuiter commendatum."

³ x. 177, December 24, 1207.

with staying in his archiepiscopal palace, Berthold was going from place to place, and making a public display of his ignorance.¹ Innocent blamed the king for putting pressure on him to confirm the election of such a man, and urged him to support the order which he had given the archbishop to return to his cathedral city, and study under able men. If Berthold will not do this, then, said the Pope, "what we have built up by circumvention, we will destroy by circumspection."²

But Berthold was well supported by the queen, and neither of them would pause in that career of aggrandisement which was in a brief space to bring Gertrude to a violent death, and to make Andrew himself bitterly regret that in promoting Berthold he had incurred the hatred of his people.³

Meanwhile, though Innocent had confirmed the general privileges⁴ of the archbishop of Gran (the ancient Strigonium), and also the special ones, such as his right to crown the Hungarian king,⁵ Berthold did not hesitate to attack them. When the Pope was duly informed by the king of the strife between the two archbishops—strife like to that between York and Canterbury, Dublin and Armagh, and other prelates similarly situated in different countries,—he begged the king to try to settle the matter along with the disputants, their suffragans, and

The sees of
Gran and
Colocsa.

¹ xi. 220, January 21, 1209. He had gone to Vicenza in Italy on pretence of study.

² *Ib.*

³ See his letter of 1214 (?) or 1215 to Innocent: "Ob cujus promotionem . . . fere totius regni . . . odium incurrimus." Ap. Theiner, *Mon. Hung.*, i. p. 2.

⁴ Epp. i. 251, xii. 32.

⁵ Epp. xii. 42-3. Innocent confirmed the privilege of crowning: "inspecto *regesto* f. r. Alexandri P." Clement III. and Celestine III., said Innocent, confirmed the right given by Alexander, and by Béla III. Epp. xii. 42-3.

others.¹ Innocent's advice was acted upon, and a settlement of their respective claims was drawn up which was duly despatched for his confirmation.² The archbishop of Gran was to have the *first* right to crown the king, and was to have a tenth part of the profit of all the mints in Hungary. He was not, however, to have any other rights with regard to the province of Colocsa.

In giving a general confirmation to this agreement, Innocent excepted the ambiguous clause about the *first* crowning,³ and pointed out the importance of definitely settling the question as to who had the right of crowning the sovereign. "Disputes," he wrote, "have often arisen between the coheirs of the kingdom of Hungary for the possession of its crown; and these disputes would arise the more readily if there could be found different men who had each the right to crown the king."⁴ Hence he could not and ought not to confirm the said clause. The Pope's ruling was seemingly accepted, for when granting Andrew a further delay of three years for the fulfilment of his vow to go to the help of the Holy Land, he said there was now an agreement between the two archbishops which was satisfactory to him.⁵

But before the year in which these words were written had closed, both the queen and her brother had paid

¹ xiv. 84 (July 15, 1211). Of course he reserved to himself the final decision with regard to any disagreement as to the application of any papal privilege.

² xii. 156, February 12, 1212. This letter contains the compact which received the Pope's approval as far as most of its clauses were concerned. In the document it was especially stated that if he did not give his approval to it, matters were to remain *in statu quo*.

³ "Prima coronatio regum Hungariæ specialiter spectat ad solam Strigoniensem Ecclesiam. Verumtamen si Strigoniensis Archiepiscopus non posset, vel malitiose nollet regem coronare, . . . coronet regem Colocensis."⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ xv. 224, February 3, 1213. Innocent did not live to see the Hungarian king's expedition to the Holy Land.

heavily for their unscrupulous treatment of the people. When the king was fighting the Ruthenians in Galicia, Gertrude was murdered by a furious body of Hungarians¹ (at the close of the year 1213), while Berthold, with his German clerics, was so maltreated that he was glad to escape to Germany with his life. By a letter dated January 7, 1214, Innocent ordered the bishops of Hungary to excommunicate those who had outraged the archbishop of Colocsa and his clergy.² But a letter which he received soon after from Andrew must have lessened his zeal in Berthold's behalf, and turned his thoughts into another channel. The king informed the Pope in the first place that the Ruthenians or Galicians had submitted to him, had asked him to give them his son Coloman to be their king, and had promised submission to the See of Rome if only they might be allowed to retain their own peculiar rites.³ As delay in these matters might be dangerous, Andrew begged the Pope to allow the archbishop of Gran to crown his son at once, and receive from him his oath of obedience to the Roman See.⁴ He next informed Innocent that he was making active preparations for the Crusade, and, as he intended to make the archbishop of Gran and other ecclesiastical officials

¹ Such was the tragic death of the mother of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and of the sister of Agnes de Meran, the would-be wife of Philip Augustus. Andrew afterwards married Yolande, daughter of Peter of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople.

² xvi. 161. "Inter alia quæ commiserunt [the Hungarians] enormia in . . . Colocensem archiepiscopum manus præsumpserunt injicere temere violentas."

³ As early as 1207 we find Innocent dealing with the reunion of the Ruthenians. Cf. ep. x. 138, October 7, 1207.

⁴ "Postulamus ut . . . filium nostrum eis [the Galicians] in regem inungat [the archbishop of Gran], et sacramentum super obedientie sacrosancte Rom. ecclesie exhibenda ab eadem recipiat." The letter of Andrew to the Pope, ap. Theiner, *Mon. Hung.*, i. 1. This document very clearly shows the suzerainty of the Pope over Hungary.

guardians of the kingdom in his absence, he asked the Pope to free them from the obligation of their visit *ad limina*. He then proceeded to ask the Pope to excommunicate the authors of the late outrages, and, "because we believe it is contained in your Register,"¹ to send him a copy of his decision relative to the coronation rights of the archbishop of Gran,² as the original was stolen at the time of the murder of his wife "of happy memory."

Finally, with his heart full of the bitterness of outraged feelings, he explained to the Pope that the archbishop of Colocsa, "a man of our peace," for whose sake he had incurred his people's hate, had gone off with the treasure, amounting to about seven thousand marks, which the queen had amassed for the benefit of her children.³ He besought the Pope to enforce the restitution of the treasure.

The unfortunate loss of the letters of the last two years of Innocent's pontificate prevents us from knowing what precise answer the Pope addressed to this most interesting communication. It is, however, believed that he succeeded in securing the restoration of the treasure, for it is known that in 1218 Berthold became patriarch of Aquileia.⁴

After what we have now seen of Innocent's action in

¹ Andrew must have been very familiar with the papal Registers, for Innocent had to write to his brother King Emeric about certain Hungarians who had witnessed a theft of two leaves from the Register of Alexander III. Cf. epp. i. 540, and 549, January 1199.

² The king declares that the Pope's reason for insisting on the archbishop of Gran's sole right of crowning the king was excellent. He speaks of the letters: "continentes laudabile vestrum consilium et rationem efficacem, quod si coronatio ad plures pertineret, materiam dissensionis et schismatis facile excitaret." Ap. Theiner, *ib.*

³ Of the disgraceful manner in which a king of Hungary was capable of amassing treasure, Innocent's letters (ii. 96 and 97, June 1199) show.

⁴ Cf. Nos. 1507-8, etc., of the Register of Honorius III., ed. Pressutti.

Hungary, we can have no difficulty in accepting the conclusions of Marczalis, one of Hungary's latest historians. He says that the action of the Papacy on his country at this period was most beneficial. Had it not been for the controlling hand of the Popes, the clergy of Hungary, as corrupt as they were rich, would have become completely secularised. And if the Popes had great power in Hungary, their power "was in the hearts of the Hungarian people. Two centuries of intercourse with Rome had prepared them to venerate in the successor of St. Peter the source of their moral strength and their comfort in the hour of trial."¹

BULGARIA.

The preceding narrative dealing with the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and with Hungary, has already called our attention to Bulgaria, and to its renewed assertion of national freedom.² The founders of this second Bulgarian empire are said by Innocent to have been two Wallachian or Roumanian brothers, Peter and John,³ to whom the Greek historians Nicetas and George Acropolites add a third, Asen,⁴ who was no doubt the eldest. John, known as Jonitza, and also, to the Latins, as Calojan or Little John, and to the Greeks as Scylo-Joannes or Puppy John,⁵ succeeded Asen in the leadership of the now independent Bulgarians (1197-1207).

It was with this Bulgarian chief that Innocent, hearing that he was anxious to free his people even from ecclesiastical dependence on Constantinople, entered into corre-

The second
Bulgarian
Empire.

Innocent
writes to
Calojan.

¹ Quoted by Luchaire, from his *Hist. du peuple hongrois* (in Magyar), ii. p. 373, Budapest, 1896.

² Cf. *supra*, vol. xi. 290.

³ Ep. vii. 127. "Wallachian," because (ep. ii. 266) Innocent says they were of Roman origin.

⁴ Georg., *Ann.*, n. 12, p. 22, ed. Bonn.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 26.

spondence.¹ He sent "to the Lord of the Blaci and the Bulgarians," Dominic, the archpriest of Brindisi, "a man skilled in both the Greek and Latin tongue."² The archpriest, despite all the difficulties of the journey, succeeded in reaching his destination, and presented to the Bulgarian ruler a letter from the Pope addressed to the "noble man Jonitza." After speaking of the success with which God had blessed his arms, Innocent went on to say that, after he had heard of his Roman origin, and of his affection for the Apostolic See, he had for some time intended to write to him. Hitherto a multitude of concerns had prevented him from carrying out his intention. At length, however, he has found time to write to him to confirm him in his attachment to the Holy See. He is sending him the archpriest of the Greeks of Brindisi, to whom he would be glad if he would make known his mind. When, through the report of the archpriest, he has learnt the sincerity of his intentions, he will send him more distinguished envoys, or even legates *a latere*, to confirm him and his people in their devotion to the Apostolic See, and to make known his goodwill towards him.³

Caloian's
reply, 1202.

Sometime, seemingly during the course of the year 1202, there arrived in Rome a letter from Caloian, "emperor of the Bulgarians and Blaci," as he called himself. It is to be found in Innocent's Register, "translated from Bulgarian into Greek, and thence into Latin." Jonitza assured the Pope that he valued the letter he had received from him more than gold or precious stones, and he thanked God for bringing him back "to the memory of

¹ According to d'Avril, *La Bulgarie Chrétienne*, p. 18, Jonitza began to write to Rome regarding his submission from the year 1197.

² *Gesta*, c. 65.

³ Ep. ii. 266, December 1199? These letters may also be read in Theiner, *Vet. Mon. Slav. merid.*, i.

the blood and of the country whence we are descended." He told "the head of all faithful Christians" that his brothers before him and he himself had often wished to send envoys to him, but had not been able to do so. He is, however, now sending him the bishop-elect of Brandizuberen to offer him his submission as his spiritual son, to inform him of his wish to be incorporated in the Roman Church, and to receive from it a crown; for he had learnt from the ancient books of Bulgaria that his predecessors, Peter and Samuel and others, had received crowns from the Pope.¹ He excused himself for his long delay in replying to the Pope's letter on the ground that many men had come into his country with intent to deceive him, and it had taken him some time to verify the credentials of the archpriest Dominic.²

At the same time there came a letter from Basil, the archbishop of Zagora or Ternovo, "to the most honoured and most holy Supreme Pontiff the Pope," offering him "as to his spiritual father, health, joy, and reverence (*adorationem*)."

Basil, arch-
bishop of
Ternovo,
writes to
the Pope.

"Although," the archbishop began, "we cannot pay you our homage in our own persons (*corporaliter adorare*), we do so in spirit." We rejoiced to see your envoy Dominic, as we ardently desired the favour of the Apostolic See. Both "our emperor" and we ourselves have for many years desired in vain to enter into communication with you. We are thankful to God that you have sent to us, and we all beg you to grant "our emperor's" requests: "because he and his whole empire have great devotion to the Roman Church, as being descended from the blood of the Romans."³

In his reply to Calojan, "the lord of the Blaci and the

Innocent's
answers.

¹ "Sicut in libris nostris invenimus esse scriptum." v. 115.

² *Ib.*

³ v. 117. Cf. v. 118, a letter from a Roumanian Prince Bellota, begging the Pope's blessing for his household.

Bulgarians," Innocent showed himself cautious, because, though the papal registers showed indeed that many Bulgarian kings had received crowns from Rome, they also showed that, "corrupted by Greek gifts, and circumvented by Greek promises," the Bulgarians had expelled the "Roman" clergy and had received Greek priests. The remembrance of such levity, he wrote, has prevented him from sending at present a cardinal to Bulgaria, but he has sent John,¹ the chief of his chaplains, to organise the Church in Bulgaria, and, with the aid of neighbouring Catholic bishops, to consecrate such bishops as may be needed. By him, too, he has sent, in order that it may be given to Basil, "the pallium, the emblem of the plenitude of episcopal power," and he has commissioned him to examine the ancient books of Bulgaria, in order to find out all the details connected with the sending of the crowns from Rome to Caloian's predecessors. On the receipt of his chaplain's report, he will know how to act.²

In answer to Basil, the Pope rejoiced that he "had recognised the *magisterium* (*i.e.*, the teaching authority) of the Apostolic See," informed him that he had sent him the pallium, and begged him to cause his legate to be accepted in his stead by the whole people, "so that those who are of Roman descent may follow the practices of the Roman Church."³

Innocent also sent to Basil by his legate a mitre and a ring, to be given to him along with the pallium after he had taken the usual oath of obedience to the Roman Church.⁴

¹ Hurter, *Tableau des Institutions de l'église*, ii. p. 488, says that this John was St. John de Matha, the founder of the order of the Trinitarians, and not the abbot of Casamari; but John's letter to the Pope (vi. 140) is headed: "Litteræ Joannis de Casem. ad."

² Ep. v. 116, November 27, 1202.

³ v. 119. He also sent his blessing to Bellota, v. 120.

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 70.

But it took the chaplain John a long time to reach Bulgaria. The fact was that he had had some business to transact with the Ban of Bosnia regarding the Bogomils.¹ Caloian did not know whether his envoy had ever reached Rome, so that he and Archbishop Basil became impatient. The latter had, as he afterwards assured the Pope, been longing for eighteen years to be united to the Apostolic See,² and so, when by July 1203 no answer had yet been received from Rome, Basil resolved to go to Rome himself, and on July 4 set out for Dyrrachium (Durrazzo).³ When he reached that ancient seaport, the Greeks would not allow him to embark for Italy, but threatened to throw him into the sea. However, by the help of the Latins, he managed to leave the city and to send on "two good men" of his suite to Rome. He remained in the neighbourhood for some time, till he was recalled by a message from Caloian saying that the chaplain John had meanwhile arrived at Ternovo.⁴

Fresh request of Caloian for a crown, etc., July 1203.

The "two good men," the constable Sergius and the priest Constantine, succeeded in reaching the Pope, and in delivering into his hands a letter from "the emperor of the Bulgarians to the most holy patriarch of the

Bulgarian envoys reach Rome.

¹ Epp. vi. 140-1.

² vii. 5, perhaps c. February 25, 1204.

³ "Mota est per mensem Julii, quarta die 6712 indictione sexta (1203) mea humilitas ad s. . . Patrem Innocentium P. Romanum." *Ib.* The Itinerary of the archbishop was as follows:—July 4, left Ternovo; reached Dyrrachium on August 3; remained there eight days, and at "Cavatochorium"? fifteen days; back at Ternovo at the beginning of September, and received the pallium from the chaplain John on September 8. *Cf.* a letter of Caloian to Innocent, inter epp. ejus vii. 6, where for "mense Junii" we should apparently read "mense Julii." *Cf.* vii. 5.

⁴ *Ib.* *Cf.* the note which Basil appended to Caloian's second letter, inter epp. Inn., vi. 142, written about the beginning of July 1203. *Cf.* also Caloian's letter to Innocent after the arrival of the legate John, *ib.*, vii. 6.

Christian faith from the East even to the West, to the Roman Pope." He again tells the Pope of the repeated unsuccessful efforts which he had made to get into communication with him, and of the arrival of the Pope's messenger, the archpriest of Brindisi. He assures Innocent that he had given a most favourable reception to his envoy, and had sent him back with letters to the Pope. But he does not know whether the letters have ever been delivered. Meanwhile, he continued, when the Greeks had heard of my relations with you, their emperor and patriarch sent to offer to crown me and to grant me a patriarch, "because the State (*imperium*) cannot stand without the Church (*patriarcha*)." "But I was not willing to listen to them, but have again had recourse to your Holiness, because I wish to be the servant of St. Peter and of your Holiness. I have, moreover, sent you my archbishop in suitable style (*cum omni ordinatione*), and with money, silks, wax, silver, horses and mules in order that he may pay homage to your Holiness (*adoret*) for me thy servant." In conclusion, he begged the Pope to send "cardinals" to crown him emperor, and to institute a patriarch over his territories, "in order that I may be thy servant all the days of my life."¹

The Pope, who had meanwhile heard from his legate John that he had met envoys of Caloian at the court of the king of Hungary, and that he was going to set out

¹ vi. 142, about the beginning of July 1203. The reality of the Greek offer set forth in this letter has been called in question. But Alexius III. was in great straits in the first half of this year (1203), and may very well have been willing, at any sacrifice of prestige, to prevent any increase of Latin influence. Besides, the envoy John reported to Innocent that he had heard from the king of Hungary and "from many persons" that Caloian was "devoted to the Roman Church" (vi. 140). Hence, though the Bulgarians had in the past shown themselves adepts at playing off Constantinople and Rome against each other, it may be presumed that the Bulgarian monarch was sincere on this occasion.

with them for Bulgaria on August 24,¹ wrote both to Basil and to the king to tell them this. Further, in his letter to the archbishop, not knowing that he had already returned to Bulgaria, he begged him to try to finish his journey to Rome, so that, after conversation with him, he might be able to arrange matters regarding the crown and the patriarchate.² Moreover, in his letter to Caloian, Innocent added the request that he would make peace with Vulcan, or Voukan, at the moment ruler of Servia (September 1203).³

As soon as ever the chaplain John reached Caloian (end of August 1203), that prince recalled his archbishop Basil whom he had sent off to Rome.⁴

John appears to have conducted his mission to Caloian with the same judgment as he did that to the Ban of Bosnia. He bestowed the pallium on Basil of Ternovo, "on the feast of the Nativity of our Lady the most holy Mother of God" (September 8, 1203). Full of joy at the gift he had received, Basil wrote the very same day to thank the Pope. Greeting "the Father of all Christianity, my lord Innocent III. Pope,"⁵ he offered his thanks to God inasmuch as that which his soul had desired for eighteen years, had "that day" been granted by Him. He assured Innocent that, after he had "with very humble devotion" received the pallium, he took the oath of fidelity to him in the presence of the bishops and of his sovereign.⁶ Moreover, he begged the Pope to settle

The papal chaplain John at the court of Caloian, Aug. 1203. He bestows the pallium on the archbishop of Ternovo 1203.

¹ vi. 140, August 23, 1203.

² vi. 143, September 10, 1203.

³ vi. 144.

⁴ vii. 5, September 8, 1203.

⁵ He also calls him "gloriosissimo et concathedrali apostolicæ sedis." Ep. vii. 5. Cf. *Gesta*, c. 70.

⁶ It was in the main the usual oath taken by metropolitans. Obedience is promised by the primate to Innocent and his successors, and it is declared that the life and interests of the Popes shall be sacred in his eyes. He will come to synods when summoned; will, every four years, pay his visit *ad limina*; and will receive the Pope's legate with

the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Bulgaria, to send him palliums for the newly created metropolitan sees of Prêslav (the old Bulgarian capital, now the village of Eski-Stambul) and Belesbudium (identified with Kös-tendil),¹ and whatever else the Pope knew was needful for his office.

Along with the letter of his new primate, Basil (or perhaps somewhat later), went another letter from "the emperor of all the Bulgarians and Blaci" . . . "to the most holy Dominator (*dominatori*) and universal Pope sitting in the chair of Blessed Peter, the lord Father of my kingdom, the third Innocent, Pope of the Apostolic See and of the Roman Church, and master of the whole world (*magistro totius mundi*)." After this magnificent prelude Calojan goes on in simple style to express the hope that the Pope and his cardinals are well, and to inform the Pope that he himself and the princes of his empire are well. He then proceeds to ask for a pastoral staff and other privileges for the new primate, and, for himself, he begs that a cardinal may be sent to crown him. "And if your Holiness shall do all this I shall take it that I and all my people are well-beloved sons of the orthodox Roman Church." He leaves the settlement of his disputes with Hungary as to the respective boundaries of the two kingdoms to the just judgment of the Pope,² and concludes by enumerating a list of splendid presents which he is sending him.³

all honour. When he consecrates his suffragans, he will make them swear obedience to Rome, and when he crowns a king of the Bulgarians and Blaci, he will cause him to swear that he will remain loyal and obedient (*devotus ac obediens*) to the Roman Church. The formula of the oath began: "Ego, archiepiscopus Trinovitanus, primas totius Bulgarie et Balicæ." Inter epp. Inn., vii. 11.

¹ In accordance with regular custom, the two metropolitans themselves duly asked for their palliums. Cf. the addition to ep. vii. 5. See also *Gesta*, c. 70.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 7.

³ Ep. vii. 6.

Along with this letter went the "instrument by which the king of Bulgaria and Blacia subjected his empire to the Church of Rome." This document, to which a golden bulla was attached, set forth that never would Caloian or his princes cut themselves off from the Roman Church (*discedet*), but would ever be its true sons; and that, moreover, any lands he might hereafter obtain should also be subject to the Apostolic See (*sub potestate et mandato . . . apostolicæ sedis*). At the end of "the instrument" it was stated that it was given into the hands of the legate of the Holy See, the chaplain John, "in the year six thousand seven hundred and twelve, the seventh indiction," *i.e.*, in the year 1204.¹

The legate John takes to Rome the golden bull subjecting Bulgaria to Rome, 1204.

With this document and the letter of the Bulgarian king, and in company with Caloian's envoy the bishop of Brandizuberen (Branitschewo), John made haste to Rome.²

On the receipt of such evidence of Caloian's sincerity, Innocent could delay no longer. Cardinal Leo was at once sent to crown the Bulgarian monarch, and a series of letters, addressed to him, to Archbishop Basil, and to his subject bishops, notified them of the despatch of Leo, and of the granting of the privileges they had respectively sought.³ In one of his letters to Caloian, whom he now addresses as *king* of the Bulgarians, after setting forth the position of St. Peter and his successors in the Church, he says: "Since, by the Lord's precept, we are bound to feed His sheep, wishing with fatherly solicitude to provide both spiritually and temporally for the Bulgars and the Blaci (who for a long time have been alienated from the

Innocent sends Leo, cardinal of Sta. Croce, to crown Caloian, Feb. 25, 1204.

¹ Inter epp. Inn., vii. 4.

² In the very beginning of 1204. Cf. *Gesta*, cc. 71-73. In consequence of not paying sufficient attention to dates, Luchaire would seem not to have presented these negotiations quite accurately.

³ Epp. vii. 1, 8, 12, to Caloian; 2 and 3, to Basil; 7 and 9, to the archbishops and bishops of Bulgaria. The letters are dated February 25, 1204.

bosom of their mother), and relying on the authority of Him by whom Samuel anointed David king, we constitute you their king. Moreover, by our beloved son Leo, . . . we send you a regal sceptre and a kingly crown . . . which as it were with our hands he will place upon your head, receiving from you an oath that you will be loyal and obedient to the Roman Church. Moreover, at the request of our venerable brother Blasius, the bishop of Brandi-zuberen, whom you sent to the Apostolic See, we freely grant you the right of coining money stamped with your effigy in your kingdom." He also informed him that he had made the archbishop of Ternovo primate of Bulgaria.¹

Similar information is given to the new primate.² Besides, he is told that the holy oils may be blessed on Holy Thursday according to the custom of the Roman Church, and that in future bishops and priests must be anointed.³ He may, moreover, carry his cross before him throughout the whole of his province; and, though the Roman pontiff does not carry a crozier, he, like other bishops, may use one.⁴ The Pope concludes his second letter to the primate by informing him that he has sent him by Leo all the necessary pontifical insignia, buskins, sandals, orarium, a large ring with five topazes which he had been wont to use himself, etc.⁵

We have already told of the difficulties encountered in Hungary by Cardinal Leo on his journey to Calojan,⁶ despite the fact that he had been specially recommended to the clergy and laity of that country.⁷ They were,

¹ vii. 1, *cf.* 8.

² "Te quoque in regno Bulgarorum et Blacorum primatem statuimus." vii. 2.

³ In vii. 3 he treats of "anointing" at great length.

⁴ vii. 3, *sub fin.*

⁵ *Ib.*, compared with *Gesta*, c. 145, p. ccix.

⁶ *Cf. supra*, p. 7 ff.

⁷ vii. 13. He had been similarly recommended to the bishops of Servia, vii. 14.

however, at last successfully overcome, and the Bulgarian king was duly crowned (November 8), and presented with the standard of St. Peter, decorated with the cross and the keys, "which he might use against those who honoured the Crucified with their lips, but whose hearts were far from Him."

In gratitude for what he had received, the new king wrote to tell "the father of his kingdom" that "all Bulgaria, Blacia, and the whole of his empire have greatly praised and glorified your Holiness" for granting all his petitions. He also begged the Pope to instruct the Hungarians and the Latins of Constantinople not to molest his kingdom, though at the same time he assured him that if they did he would not be slow to retaliate.¹ He then informed the Pope that he was sending him two boys, one of whom was his own son, to be taught Latin, since he had no "grammarians" to translate the Pope's letters.²

Supplementing the letter of Calojan, there was despatched to Innocent a letter from Basil also. He told the Pope that Cardinal Leo had anointed him and instituted him patriarch on November 7, and that "with great joy he had anointed" his suffragans on the same day.³

Writing in January 1205, Innocent had good reason to rejoice at the return to the unity of the Church of Bulgaria and Wallachia;⁴ but hostility towards the new Latin empire of New Rome⁵ was, after a few years, to

Of this he informs the Pope, 1204.

The Bulgarians soon fall away.

¹ We have already seen how he fought against the emperor of Constantinople.

² Inter epp. Inn., vii. 230.

³ vii. 231. These two letters were no doubt written at the close of the year 1204. Cf. *Gesta*, c. 76.

⁴ vii. 203, January 21, 1205.

⁵ Which was foolish enough to reject the proffered alliance of Calojan.

lead the Bulgarians to fall away again from the Pontiff of Old Rome. Innocent had warned the bishops of Bulgaria against fickleness: "Beware of being easily moved from your resolutions, but stand firm in your good intentions, and humbly persist in your loyalty to the Apostolic See."¹

But the new Bulgaria proved itself as changeable in matters of religion as the old Bulgaria; and John Asen II. (1218-1241), the most powerful of the rulers of the second Bulgarian empire, once more broke off union with Rome, setting up a national church. He obtained from John III. (Ducas Vatatzes), emperor of Nicæa, and from the Greek patriarch Germanus (1234), decrees recognising the primate of Ternovo as an independent patriarch "subject neither to the patriarch of Rome nor to the patriarch of Constantinople." But after his death the Bulgarian power rapidly declined, not to rise again till our own time. We find Innocent IV. exhorting Coloman (*i.e.*, Kaliman I., 1241-1246) to return to the unity of the Church,³ but the Bulgarians returned neither to unity of faith nor to national glory; and we shall leave them in that pontiff's hands trying to save them from being sold as slaves by the Genoese.⁴

SERVIA.

Formation
of a Servian
kingdom.

About the time of the formation of the second Bulgarian kingdom, the great mass of the Servian tribes began for the first time to be grouped together to form an independent nation. For two or three centuries there had been autonomous Servian tribes under their own *Jupans*; but, somewhere about the year 1160, Stephen I., Nemanja, drove out the Greeks, and welded

¹ vii. 9.

² Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, viii. p. 250 f., cited by d'Avril, p. 26.

³ *Regist.*, n. 1363, March 21, 1245, ed. Berger.

⁴ *Ib.*, n. 2122.

all the *Serbs* together under his authority as Megajupan.¹ He appears to have ruled over what is still² called Servia, and Raza or Rascia (now known as Novi Bazaar), Montenegro, a large portion of Herzegovina, and part of the Turkish district of Prizren.³ Of these territories he left Montenegro to a younger son, Vulcan (Voukan), and the rest to Stephen II., "the first crowned,"⁴ when in 1195 he resigned his crown, and, following the example of his youngest son (Sava or Saba), retired to a monastery on Mount Athos. Two years later (1197) we find the ambitious Vulcan also ruling over Herzegovina.⁵ He had seemingly received it as a fief from the Hungarians, with whom he was in league against his brother Stephen II.⁶

The next move on the part of Vulcan to strengthen his position was to organise the Church throughout his dominions. He wrote to Innocent begging him to send legates to establish a regular hierarchy under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Dioclea.⁷ "Understanding,"

Vulcan negotiates with Rome regarding the organisation of the Church in his territories, 1198-9.

¹ There had been a king of part of the kingdom now formed by Stephen, viz., of Zenta or Zeta (Montenegro), in the eleventh century, in the person of its Jupan, Michael, who received a crown from Gregory VII., and to whom as "king of the Serbs" that Pope addressed a letter. Ep. v. 12, January 9, 1078. Cf. *supra*, vol. vi. p. 354 ff. Megajupan is the same as *Veliki* or *Grand* Jupan.

² December 1912.

³ Luchaire, v. 88.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 8. From the river Zenta or Zeta, Montenegro was at this time known as Zeta; and from Dioclea, on the northern shore of Lake Scutari, as Dioclea.

⁵ Then described as Chulma or Zachulmia, or as (upper) Dalmatia. Hence he styles himself and was styled "king of Dioclea and Dalmatia." Cf. documents 270 and 293, ap. Smičiklas, vol. ii. M. Gavrilovitch, Director of the State Archives of Servia, who wrote chapter ii. of Mr. A. Stead's *Servia by the Servians*, p. 8 (London, 1909), makes "Vukan" the eldest son, and attributes his policy to finding himself "unjustly deprived of the dignity of Grand Jupan."

⁶ Cf. Marković, *Gli Slavi ed i Papi*, ii. p. 324.

⁷ Ep. i. 525, January 8, 1199.

wrote the Pope in reply to Vulcan, "by your letters presented to our apostleship the ardour of your devotion which leads you to wish to love and honour the Roman Church, your mother, above all things after God, and in all things to obey our behests, we have, in accordance with what your nobility has demanded of us, despatched to you our beloved sons the chaplain John and the sub-deacon Simon." We have instructed them to confirm in you the doctrine of the Apostles, to reform whatever they may find necessary, and to take the pallium to the archbishop of Dioclea so that he may share our solicitude.¹ A number of similar letters informed the bishops of the country, Stephen, the Grand Jupan of Servia, and others of what he had done.²

Fresh instructions for the papal legates sent to Vulcan.

We are told by Thomas of Spalato that Diocletian built a city "near a certain lake" (Scutari), which he called after his own name Dioclea.³ This city was destroyed in 1027, and its episcopal see was transferred to Antivari, the present port of Montenegro.⁴ Whether it was the recollection of this fact, or whether it was simply that the request of Vulcan caused the papal chancellery to study the history of the diocese of Dioclea-Antivari, certain it is that, soon after the departure of the legates, it was discovered that Antivari was subject to Ragusa.⁵ Innocent wrote off immediately to his legates. A few days after your departure, he said, I was informed (and an inspection of the *Liber Censuum*;—" *Liber censualis cameræ nostræ*"—confirmed the statement) that Antivari was subject to the metropolitan see of Ragusa. Then after expressing his astonishment that John, who

¹ i. 526, January 8, 1199.

² i. 527 ff.

³ *Hist. Salon.*, c. 4.

⁴ Cf. Freeman, *Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice*, p. 381 ff. "Antivari."

⁵ Cf. *supra*, vol. vi. pp. 350, 354 ff.; and vol. viii. p. 215; and especially *Liber Censuum*, ed. Fabre, i. p. 141 ff., with Fabre's notes.

had read the *Liber*, had not "more expressly" made known the truth to him, the Pope forbade him to give the pallium to the elect of Antivari unless it was proved that it had been given to his predecessors, and that they had enjoyed the dignity of metropolitans. At the same time he sent his legates another set of letters similar to the previous set, with the exception of the omission of the clause relative to the pallium. They were to use the first or the second set as circumstances dictated.¹

When the legates had crossed the Adriatic, they held a synod at Antivari, passing some twelve decrees for the improvement of ecclesiastical discipline, modelling them on the decrees of the "most holy Roman Church, which is the mother and mistress (*magistra*) of all the churches";² and they conferred the pallium on John, archbishop of that city.³ Evidently Archbishop John had no difficulty in proving to the legates that at one time Dioclea-Antivari had certainly been a metropolitan city.

In thanking the Pope for acceding to his wishes, Vulcan tells him of the heresy of Culin, the Ban of Bosnia,⁴ of which mention will be made shortly.

Realising his precarious position, seeing that he had against him the king of Hungary and his own brother,

Synod of
Antivari,
1199.

Stephen II.
applies to
Rome for
a crown.

¹ i. 535, January 26, 1199.

² The decrees may be read ap. Theiner, *Mon. Slav. merid.*, i. p. 7 f., or Smičiklas, ii. p. 335 f.

³ Cf. epp. ii. 176 of Vulcan, and 178 of John, who signs himself archbishop of Dioclea and Antivari. The latter document contains a copy of the decrees, one of which forbade the laity to judge clerics, and another condemned slavery. Luchaire (v. p. 90) speaks as though there were question of schism in Vulcan's territory. But the south-western Slavs had for centuries been attached to Rome, and there is no word in this correspondence about restoration to unity. The decrees of the synod of Antivari only concern questions of morals or discipline, and Vulcan himself (i. 176) describes the Fathers of the council "de vitiis et virtutibus subtiliter disserentes."

⁴ In the Latin text Ban Culinus has become corrupted into Bacilinus.

steadily becoming more powerful, Stephen II. now endeavoured to strengthen himself by applying to Innocent for a crown. He felt he would be safe under the ægis of Rome. Accordingly, "the Grand Jupan of all Servia"¹ wrote "to the universal Pope . . . as to his spiritual father," and assured him that it was his intention ever to follow, like his father before him, the footsteps of the Roman Church, and to observe its precepts. He concluded his short note by telling the Pope that he had conversed with his legates, who would inform his Holiness of his desires.²

These desires, which he afterwards impressed upon the Pope by his own envoys, were that the Pope should send a legate into his *country* to bring *it* back to the obedience of the Roman Church, and to confer on himself a regal diadem.³ Innocent at once commissioned the cardinal-bishop of Albano to proceed to Servia in order to put Stephen's wishes into effect. But this would not have suited the Hungarian king and his ally Vulcan. Emeric, accordingly, addressed a strong remonstrance to the Pope, who, unwilling to offend the most solidly Catholic monarch in the east of Europe, "not without confusion," as he says himself,⁴ thereupon refused Stephen's request. Not long after (*postquam*) Emeric invaded Servia, expelled Stephen,⁵ and replaced him by his tool Vulcan (1202). "Owing to the solidity of his devotion to the Holy See," Innocent congratulated the Hungarian monarch on his success, "which he accounted as his

¹ The Slav *Life* of St. Simeon published by Danicic tells how Stephen freed Servia from Bogomilism (see below), "the accursed heresy" which rendered divine honours to Satan. Cf. an article, "Amis de Dieu," in Baudrillart's new *Dictionnaire d'histoire*.

² Ep. ii. 177, 1199.

³ This we learn from Innocent himself, ep. vii. 127, September 15, 1204.

⁴ *Ib.* Cf. v. 18

⁵ Cf. v. 18. This letter is not dated.

own"; and he exhorted him to cause "the institutions of the Roman Church to be observed" in Servia, and to bring that country "more fully back to the obedience of Rome"; for "this," he said, "appears to be very much to the advantage of you and of your kingdom."¹ After his conquest, perhaps with a view to soothing the Pope's wounded feelings concerning the matter of the crown for Stephen, Emeric gave him to understand that he would have no objection to his granting Vulcan a crown, which was, of course, to be worn in subjection to him.² Innocent at once entrusted the execution of this affair to the primate of Colocsa (1202). But in 1204 he had occasion to note that the archbishop had for two years taken no steps in the matter; and it consequently remains a subject for doubt whether Emeric was in earnest in this particular or not.³

Whether, however, Vulcan was to wear a crown or not, Innocent was none the less in the meanwhile anxious about his spiritual condition, and about that of his new territories. He therefore wrote "to the noble man, Vulcan, Grand Jupan of Servia" (1203), telling him that he was going to visit him through the medium of the archbishop of Colocsa. That prelate was "to confirm Vulcan in the faith, and was, after receiving from him in the Pope's name spiritual obedience and corporal reverence, to bring him back to the apostolic fold." If Vulcan should show himself amenable to the archbishop, Innocent would in his turn devote himself to advancing the Jupan's glory, *i.e.*, no doubt, he would further his desire for a crown.⁴ In another letter⁵ in which the Pope commissioned the archbishop to go in person into Servia, he is instructed to declare the Servians "absolved from

¹ *Id.*, an. 1202.

³ vii. 127.

⁵ vi. 25.

² Epp. vii. 126-7.

⁴ vi. 24, March 23, 1203.

any bond of obedience by which they may seem to be bound to the patriarch of Constantinople."

These letters would seem to show not only that the Servians proper were as a body in communion with the patriarch of Constantinople, but that Vulcan himself, to curry favour with his new subjects, had also attached himself to the Greek Church. However, as in September 1203 Vulcan is still spoken of by Innocent as "his beloved son,"¹ we may perhaps conclude that the Pope's letters refer rather to the heterodoxy of the mass of the Servian people than to that of their new ruler.

Innocent's
last (?)
effort to
bring back
the Ser-
vians to
Rome,
1204.

A last effort to bring the Servians to the Roman Church seems to have been made by the Pope when he commissioned Cardinal Leo to proceed to Serbia after he had crowned the king of Bulgaria.² If Leo ever went to Serbia, no record of his work there would appear to have survived.

Stephen
II., Nem-
anya, re-
ceives a
crown from
Rome,
1217.

All through the centuries many of the Slav princes have been guided by the exigencies of politics and not by the claims of religion, and they have often twisted either their own consciences or those of their people to suit their momentary political advantages. To judge from what has been said of Stephen II. of Serbia by many modern authors, one would naturally suppose that he was one of that class of rulers. But their statements are rather conjectures based on our want of knowledge of these early days of Servian history, than the records of ascertained facts. What these latter are we shall proceed to unfold, though the telling of them will take us beyond the pontificate of Innocent. At some date which has been assigned to 1205,³ and which was certainly anterior to 1215,⁴ Stephen II. was once more

¹ vi. 144, September 15.

² Ep. vii. 14, February 25, 1204.

³ By D. Davidovits, *Hist. de la nation Serbe*, pp. 53-4, Belgrade, 1848.

⁴ Cf. a document in Smičiklas, iii. p. 140.

Grand Jupan of Servia. Undeterred by his previous failure, because he knew that Rome was really with him, he again applied to the Pope for a crown, possibly in some way taking advantage of the Hungarian king's departure for the Crusade (1217). At any rate, the archdeacon Thomas says that it was at the time of King Andrew's departure that Stephen, "the lord of Servia or Rascia," sent envoys to ask Honorius III. for a crown.¹ Our best authority for this transaction is the history of St. Sabbas (Sava or Saba), Stephen's brother, by his disciple Dometian, a monk of Khilander on Mount Athos, who wrote perhaps as early as 1243.² According to this authority, "Sava chose one of his disciples, a man wise in the things of God, the most reverend Bishop Methodius, and sent him to Rome to the most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, and to him who sits on the same throne with them (*sintrono*),³ viz., to the great Pope of the great Roman Empire; and he sent presents worthy of their holinesses, in order that they in turn might bless his country, and of their own goodness might crown its prince. He moreover wrote a letter to the great successor of the holy and glorious apostles, the Pope, and begged him to send him . . . a blessed diadem with which he might crown his own brother king of his paternal state, *i.e.*, of Dioclea. . . . The blessed crown (at length) arrived, and the most holy prelate (Sabbas) glorified his benefactor (the Pope) for all the favours he had bestowed upon him,

¹ *Hist. Salon.*, c. 25.

² Morfill, *Slavonic Literature*, p. 147, says he wrote in 1264; but it would appear from Pypine and Spasovic, *Hist. des littér. slaves*, p. 219, that that date refers to his life of Stephen Nemanya I. On St. Sabbas, see N. Nilles, *Kalendarium utriusque ecclesiae*, i. p. 446 ff., Innspruck, 1896.

³ We are translating from Marković's Italian version of Dometian's narrative, *Gli Slavi*, ii. 336.

. . . and crowned his own pious brother, and anointed him king."¹

A year or two after his coronation, "Stephen, by the grace of God crowned king of Servia, Dioclea, Tribunia, Dalmatia, and Ochlumia (*i.e.*, Zachlumia or Herzegovina), offers homage (*inclinationem*) and inviolable fidelity to the most holy Father and lord Honorius, universal pontiff of the Roman See and Church." "As all Christians," wrote the Serb monarch, "love and honour you, and account you as Father and Lord, so we also desire to be reckoned a son of the holy Roman Church and of your paternity, desiring that God's blessing and approval, and yours too, if it so please you, may ever rest on our crown and country. Hence have we sent you our Bishop Methodius, in order that through the bearer of these presents you may make known to us what is your holy will" (1120).²

That Stephen II. then was crowned by the authority of the Pope and that he afterwards honoured and remained in communion with his benefactor is certain, but "to affirm that Stephen was twice crowned (as is done by some authors),³ is to introduce into history a chimera, which would be too much honoured if treated seriously."⁴ The separation of Servia from Rome was gradual, and took place after the death of Stephen (1227), perhaps not till after that of his son Radoslav, who according to the ancient Serb authors also received his crown from Honorius III.⁵ At any rate, in 1288 Nicholas IV. was certainly engaged with some merely seeming success in

¹ The only difference between the accounts of the contemporaries Dometian and Thomas is that the latter speaks of Stephen's being crowned by a legate *a latere*. *L.c.*

² Inter epp. Honor. III., iv. 681, and quoted in full by Markovič (ii. 341) and Raynaldus, *Annales Eccles.*, an. 1220, n. 37.

³ *E.g.*, by Prince Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, ii. pp. 461-2.

⁴ Markovič, ii. 342.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 344.

trying to bring back King Stephen Ourosht Milutin (1275-1321) to the unity of the Catholic Church.¹ In connection with these Servian kings of the thirteenth century, d'Avril, whom we are here following, observes that, as suzerains more or less immediate of Dioclea and Primoria (parts of Dalmatia and Albania), where there were many Latins, they kept up regular relations with Rome, whatever might be their personal predilections. But, as kings of Servia, properly so called, they followed with their subjects the Greek rite, and adhered in matters of Church government more or less closely to Constantinople. It was not, however, till the fourteenth century that there ceased to be a Catholic community in Servia.²

BOSNIA.

In the beginning of the twelfth century the Slavs of Bosnia, the land of the yellow Bosna, fell under the sway of Hungary; but in the year 1166 Manuel I., Comnenus, once more subjected them to the Byzantine empire. After his death, however (1180), his feeble successors were unable to hold his conquest, and the Bosnians under their Ban Culin (1180-1204) for the moment found themselves free. To keep himself independent was the one aim of Culin's life; and, in order to resist the Hungarians across the Save, his northern frontier, he not only tried to secure the help of the Servians, from whom he was merely separated by the Drina, but, as we shall see, even embraced Bogomilism. In common with his subjects and most of the adjoining Slavs, Culin was a Catholic, *i.e.*, was in communion with the See of Rome; and the first ecclesiastical document which we possess concerning him shows him in friendly intercourse with the

Culin, the
Ban of
Bosnia.

¹ Cf. d'Avril, *La Serbie Chrét.*, p. 119.

² Cf. the letters of Benedict XI., ap. Mark., p. 348.

Pope (1180). The document in question is a letter from Theobald, one of the papal legates with whom the Balkan States were so familiar in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The legate forwards the Pope's letters to Culin, and asks him by his reverence for the blessed Apostle Peter and the lord Pope to send him two slaves (*famulos*), and some marten skins.¹

The
Bogomils

The next time, however, we hear of Culin he is being denounced to the Pope as a Bogomil. Imitating the conduct of other Slav rulers in similar cases, Culin embraced that degrading heresy in the hope that, if he alienated his subjects in religious matters from Hungary, he would be the more easily able to maintain his independence against its ruler. He was to find that his action brought about a combination between Innocent and Emeric which was to prove too strong for him.

In 1199 Innocent received from Vulcan (or Voukan), the king of Dioclea and Dalmatia, the letter we have already cited.² At the close of this communication, Vulcan informed the Pope that heresy had taken such a hold of Bosnia that Culin, his wife, and many other relatives, together with some ten thousand of his subjects, had succumbed to it. The king of Hungary, he continued, had sent a number of the heretics to Italy to be examined by the Pope, but they had returned with forged letters to the effect that he had approved their teaching in some way.³ Vulcan begged the Pope to urge Emeric to drive the heretics out of his dominions.

To anyone who will calmly weigh the tenets of the Bogomils, which had been introduced into Bosnia

¹ Ap. Smičiklas, ii. p. 168.

² Ep. ii. 176.

³ "Illi autem simulatis litteris redierint, dicentes a vobis concessam sibi legem." *Ib.*

by two brothers, citizens of Zara,¹ it cannot seem anything but reasonable that rulers should wish them driven out of their territories. Bogomilism had been invented, or rather reinvented, in the beginning of the twelfth century by a physician of Byzantium named Basil;² but there was very little really new in his production. It was merely a revival of Manichæism, and of that form of it which had been prevalent in Bulgaria in the tenth century, and which had been devised by the priest "Bogomil," "the friend of God," probably one Jeremiah.³ The dualism of the Bogomils, however, did not, as a rule, run to the extremes taught by strict Manichees. They believed in two equal deities, one good and the other bad; but the Bogomils, for the most part, taught that the good God was superior to Satanël, his revolted son. The latter, however, was lord of man's body, and of the world in which we live. His power was, however, much curtailed by Jesus Christ, the younger son of God. The Bogomils rejected most of the Old Testament, worship of the saints and angels, the use of churches, all set forms of prayer, except the Lord's Prayer, the Mass, the Sacraments of the Church,

¹ Thomas of Spalato, *Hist.*, c. 23. "Conversabantur vero ex majori parte apud Bosnam . . . competenter etiam latine et sclavonice litterature habebant peritiam."

² Asboth, *An Official Tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina*, p. 30, says that the assertion of Mr. Evans (*Through Bosnia and the Herzégovina*) "that the Bogomiles were Protestants" is obviously an exaggeration. Unless every heresy is a form of Protestantism, it is to be hoped in its interests that Mr. Asboth is right. According to Zonaras (see the following note) Basil went about clothed as a monk.

³ "Bogomil" is said to mean strictly God's (Bog) friend (mil) in Slavonic, and is exactly equivalent to the Greek Theophilus. See the valuable article of L. Leger, resting largely on Slavonic documents, in vol. viii. (1870) of the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, p. 497 ff., "L'hérésie des Bogomiles en Bosnie et en Bulgarie au moyen âge." These documents have been published by Rački in the *Memoirs of the Slavonic Academy of Agram*.

and even marriage and the use of flesh-meat. It is even asserted by Zigabenus, in that part of his work which he devotes to Bogomilism (n. 20), that they inculcated a certain amount of devil worship in order to induce the powers of evil not to injure them. They also despised learning, and abused the Catholic clergy. All contemporary authorities agree that they were full of pride and hypocrisy, and that, to escape detection and persecution, they considered that they might practise any kind of dissimulation.¹ The Byzantine princess, Anna Comnena, gives a graphic picture of the Puritan Bogomils of her day going about with unkempt hair, with their sad faces muffled up to the nose, with their heads bent down, and muttering something as they walked along.²

She also tells us that the heresy of the Bogomils existed indeed in secret before her father's time (Alexius I., †1118), but that he cunningly dragged their pernicious teachings to the light of day, and finally caused their

¹ Cf. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, xv. 8-10, ed. Bonn, ii. p. 350 ff.; Zonaras, another contemporary of Alexius, *Epit.*, xviii. 23, iii. p. 743 f., ed. Bonn; Theophylactus, archbishop of Ocria (†1107), who often alludes to the Bogomils, ap. *P. G. L.*, tt. 123-6; especially the monk Euthymius Zigabenus (*Panoplia*, ap. *P. G. L.*, t. 130; and his *Victoria et Triumphus*, ap. Gallandius, *Bib. Vet. Pat.*, t. xiv. p. 293 ff., Venice, 1781, treating of the "Massaliani or Phundaitæ, Bogomils, Euchitæ, Enthusiasts, Encratitæ, and Marcionitæ": from the conclusion of this work it is clear it was written during the reign of Alexius), also a contemporary of Anna, who refers her readers to this theologian for further information on the Bogomils; and, to some slight extent, Michael Psellus, *Dial. de dæmonum operat.*, ap. *P. G. L.*, t. 122. Anna says: "δεινότατον γὰρ τὸ βογομίλων γένος ἀρετὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι"; and with regard to the doctrine of the Bogomils declares in short, "τὴν οἰκονομίαν πᾶσαν ἐφάντασε"; n. 8. Bogomilian abhorrence of flesh-meat was connected with their views on marriage, as may be gathered from what Ralph Coggeshall (p. 124, R. S.) tells of the kindred sect, the Publicani: "Abhorrent . . . omne cibum qui ex coitu procreatur."

² Cf. her description with that of the tenth-century Bogomils given in Slavonic by the contemporary priest, Kosmas, ap. Leger, *l.c.*, p. 491 f.

leader, Basil, and his twelve "apostles" to be burnt. But after the imperial lady has given certain points of the teaching of the Bogomils, she says that, though she would like to give it all, modesty, "as beauteous Sappho says," forbids her; for, "though she is an historian, she is a woman, the most honoured of those born in the purple, and the eldest of the children of Alexius."¹ Having no claim to any of these distinctions, we may, while keeping our tongue as clean as the princess was anxious to keep hers, add that she alludes to the debaucheries to which a teaching which condemned lawful matrimony was bound to lead the rank and file at any rate of such as embraced it. This later form of neo-Manichæism, condemned at Constantinople, spread so widely among the Slavs that it soon became known by the Slavonic name of Bogomilism. The "Bogomil" in Slavonic is either "one who begs God's mercy" (Bog is the Slavonic for God), or, more exactly, "a friend of God."²

Nor was the new heresy confined to the Near East. It spread into the West, and there too caused or very strongly influenced a revival of those Manichæan doctrines which had never, as we have seen, been quite lost sight of. Our English historians distinctly connect the *Albigensian* heretics with the Bogomils of Bosnia or of the countries "near Hungary." Ralph Coggeshall says that "in the province of the *Burgarii* (Bulgarians)³ and

The relations of the Bogomils with the heretics of the West.

¹ *L.c.*, n. 9.

² Cf. on the Bogomils, Hergenröther, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, iv. p. 225 ff., and the note to the Bonn ed. of Anna. *Bog z' milui* is said to be the Bulgarian for "God have mercy." Evans, *Through Bosnia*, p. xxv. On this page Evans begins a long account of Bogomilism in a spirit which led him to speak of the great Roman pontiffs of this period as "foul-mouthed popes." See also Pypine, *Hist. des littér. slaves*, p. 94 ff.

³ In 1691 (Paris) Benoist in his *Histoire des Albigeois* published a Bogomilian document used in the West, of which the Latin title ran: "Hoc est secretum Hæreticorum de *concoresio* portatum de *Bulgaria*

of Dalmatia near Hungary there arose a certain heresiarch who strove to establish his see in the north, and to depress the Apostolic See in Rome. To him (Niquinta, *i.e.*, Nicetas, by name)¹ flocked the Albigenses as to their pope, in order that he might reply to their consultations. He sent them a man, . . . named Bartholomew, who created bishops, . . . and who signed himself 'Bartholomew, servant of the servants of the hospital of the holy faith.'"² Matthew Paris connects the Patarenes, the Albigensians, and the *Bugari*, and tells of one *Bugre* who was converted from them.³ Western continental writers speak to the same effect. Reinerius Saccho (or Rainerius Sacchoni), who, as he tells us himself, had once been a leader of the Cathari and a member of their body for seventeen years,⁴ and who had later as a Dominican often

a Nazario suo episcopo." "De concoresio" has, no doubt, reference to the second of the principal divisions of the Albigensians or Cathari. Those of this division were called *Concorezenses*; and one of their sixteen churches was known as that *de Concorezo*. Cf. Reinerius Saccho, *Summa de Catharis*, c. 6, ap. Martène, *Thes. nov. anecdot.*, v. p. 1759 ff. Maitland, *Albigenses*, has given large extracts from Reinerius both in English (p. 400) and in the original Latin, p. 525 ff. Reinerius had himself been one of the Cathari, and wrote about 1250. The Church *de Concorezo* seems to refer to Carcassonne. Cf. Asboth, *Bosnia*, pp. 34-5; but he seems to be wrong in saying that Saccho makes special mention of a Bogomilian bishop of Bosnia.

¹ As we learn from the letter of Conrad, cited below. In the year 1236 Gregory IX. found an Albigensian *Pope* at Viterbo: "quorum [heretics] unus Johannes Beneventi papa dicebatur ipsorum." *Vita Greg.*, n. 24, ap. *Lib. Cens.*, ii. p. 27, ed. Fabre-Duchesne.

² *Chron. Anglic.*, p. 195, R. S. Ralph would appear to be here drawing his information from a letter of the papal legate Conrad (*in partibus illis*), of which Matthew Paris, *Chron. maj.*, an. 1223, iii. 78, R. S., gives an abridgment, and which Martène, *Thesar. nov.*, i. 901, has published in its entirety. Conrad at any rate, according to his letter in Paris, speaks of an heresiarch "whom the Albigensian heretics call their pope, dwelling in the confines of the Bulgarians, of Croatia, and Dalmatia, near the nation of the Hungarians." See also Roger of Wendover, *Flor. Hist.*, an. 1223, iii. p. 87, ed. Coxe, and *Ann. de Dunstap.*, an. 1223.

³ *L.c.*, an. 1236, iii. 361 and 520.

⁴ *Summa de Cath.*, c. 6.

been present "at the inquisition and examination of the heretics,"¹ enumerates among the sixteen *churches* of the Cathari "the *church* of Slavonia, . . . the church of *Bulgaria*, and the church of *Dugranicia* (Dobronicha or Ragusa?), and adds: "they all derive their origin from the last two."²

Innocent himself, who, as his correspondence proves, was thoroughly well informed on all that passed in Europe, whether in the domain of religion or politics, had no hesitation in connecting the Patarenes of Italy with the heretics of the Balkan peninsula. Their identity in teaching is proclaimed by him in a letter to Emeric, king of Hungary. Since, he declared, God has put the sword into your hands for the protection of the good and the punishment of the wicked, you must protect the faithful, and repress those audacious heretics who take no notice of ecclesiastical censures.³ These heretics, then, who like wolves in sheep's clothing spread "their perverse teachings in secret" are not to be acknowledged in any way. They must not be admitted to any public office, nor be allowed to inherit property. No one must be compelled to respond to any summons they may issue, nor must any act they may perform in any official position have any value. If the offenders are clerics they must be deprived of their position and their benefices. All such as shall communicate

Innocent calls on King Emeric of Hungary to take measures against the Bogomils.

¹ *Ib.*, c. 3.

² *Ib.*, c. 6.

³ Stephen I., Nemanja, Grand Jupan of Servia, did not require any exhortations to take repressive measures against the Bogomils. When he heard of their presence in his country, he called a council, and after denouncing the heresy which "divided the indivisible divinity," and after listening to the confession of the daughter of a noble who declared that she had been at a meeting of those heretics who "rendered divine honours to Satan," he condemned them to the severest penalties. Cf. Leger in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, 1870, p. 504, quoting the Slavonic *Life* of St. Simeon, published by Danicic (Belgrade). King Boris of Bulgaria at a council at Ternovo (1210) did the same. See Leger, p. 515, quoting a Slavonic *Life* of Boris published by Palauzov.

with those who have been denounced by the Church are excommunicated. "In the territories subject to our temporal sway," continued the Pope, "we have ordered their goods to be confiscated, and we have instructed the secular authorities in other lands to do the same, and have given orders that they are to be compelled, if necessary, to carry out these instructions by ecclesiastical penalties . . . so that at least temporal penalties may punish those whom spiritual discipline cannot amend."¹ We have heard that the *Patarenes* expelled from his diocese by the archbishop of Spalato have been received with open arms by "the noble man, Culin, Ban of Bosnia. Lest this heretical plague should spread into Hungary, we bid you proscribe the Ban himself along with the heretics, unless he is willing to proscribe them himself."²

Emeric
puts pres-
sure on
the Ban.

Acting on Innocent's injunctions, Emeric called Culin to account, and the Ban at first replied by a display partly of force and partly of what by courtesy may be called diplomacy. He attacked a people over whom Emeric claimed suzerainty,³ and assured Emeric that he believed the accused were not heretics but Catholics only anxious "inviolably to preserve the doctrines of the Apostolic

¹ Ep. iii. 3, October 11, 1200. Cf. ep. v. 110, and ep. x. 130, "to all the faithful in the Patrimony," September 23, 1207. "Ad eliminandam de patrimonio b. Petri hæreticorum spurcitiam sancimus ut quicumque hæreticus, et maxime Paterenus, in eo fuerit inventus . . . tradatur sæculari curiæ puniendus secundum legitimas sanctiones. Bona vero ipsius omnia publicentur."

² Ep. iii. 3. Cf. ep. vi. 140, an. 1203, wherein the legate, John, abbot of the desolate Cistercian abbey of Casamari, not far from Veroli, informs the Pope: "Tractato negotio illorum quondam Patarinorum in Bosna," etc. See also v. 110, where Innocent speaks of many in the territory of Culin who "de damnata Catharorum hæresi sunt vehementer suspecti." Of the practical identity of the Bogomils, Patarenes, and Cathari there cannot then be any doubt.

³ Ep. v. 103, November 8, 1202,

See."¹ At the same time, convinced of the hopelessness of a successful struggle with Emeric, Culin begged the Pope to send a legate to look into his own faith and that of the accused.² To comply with this request, in whatever spirit made, Innocent sent his trusted chaplain John, abbot of Casamari.³

The legate fulfilled his mission with great tact, and very gratifying results followed. In his presence and in that of "their patron the Ban Culin, lord of Bosnia," "the priors of those men who up to this have been known specially by the title of *Christians*" promised to submit to and obey the Holy Roman Church, "the head of all ecclesiastical unity," to have altars and crosses in their churches, "to read, like the Roman Church, the books both of the Old⁴ and of the New Testament." They also engaged to have priests, to hear Mass, to go to Confession, to receive Holy Communion at least seven times a year, and to observe the fasts of the Church. The relations between the two sexes were to be such that in future no suspicion of improper conduct could arise, and they undertook not to receive among them knowingly "any Manichee or other heretic." They agreed in the future no longer to take the name *Christians*, lest they should reflect upon other Christians, but that of "brethren." Finally, they consented that in future their head should only be a prelate confirmed by Rome, and that they would accept whatever alterations the Roman Church might think fit to make in their profession of faith.⁵ This act of submission was signed by the Ban himself, and by a number of

Submission
of the
Bogomils
of Bosnia,
April 30,
1203.

¹ v. 110, November 21, 1202.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*

⁴ The Cathari and Bogomils rejected the Old Testament as the work of the evil deity.

⁵ This instrument of submission may be read inter epp. Inn., vi. 14 ; or ap. Smičiklas, iii. p. 24 f.

the "priors." After the close of the assembly of Bilino Polje, the "white plain" on the Bosna, some of the "priors," in company with John, went on to Emeric, and in his presence also, and in that of some Hungarian bishops, repeated the profession of faith they had already made.¹

At the same time Emeric caused Culin's son, who was then at his court, to undertake to see to it that in future his people should faithfully observe the ecclesiastical decrees of the Roman See. The young prince, moreover, in case he should wittingly favour heretics, bound himself to pay a fine of a thousand marks of silver, of which half was to go to the Pope and the other half to the king.²

In forwarding to the Pope a report of what he had done, John suggested that, as the bishop of the one see in Bosnia was dead, he should be replaced by a Latin, and that, as Bosnia was a kingdom of at least ten days' journey, three or four new bishoprics should be created.³

With all the skill and tact of John of Casamari, the heresy of the Bogomils did not now die out in Bosnia. Either the "priors" could not bind their fellows, or, as their creed allowed them, they were merely bowing for the moment to superior force. At any rate, not only were there Bogomils in Bosnia in the days of Innocent's

¹ Ep. vi. 14. Cf. the letter of Emeric to Innocent on this matter, ep. v. an. 1204, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 289; or better, ap. Smičiklas, iii. p. 36.

² The letter of Emeric just quoted. In the preamble to this letter, which does not appear in Migne's version, Emeric notes that all Christians are indeed bound to revere the Roman Church as their mother, but that he is anxious to be more devout to her than others are, "Licet universi qui christiane fidei religione censentur, sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam tamquam piam matrem venerari ac plurimum diligere teneantur," etc.

³ vi. 140, August 23, 1203.

successor,¹ but their sect survived long enough to facilitate the conquest of their countrymen by the Turks.

BOHEMIA.

Turning from the southern to the western Slavs, we will touch first on the Bohemians and then on the Poles. Owing to strife for supremacy between different members of the Přemysl family, Bohemia had for many years previous to the pontificate of Innocent been in a state of great confusion; but a little before his election, Přemysl Ottokar I., the real founder of the Bohemian monarchy, became its undisputed ruler. He was first its duke and then its king from 1197 to 1230. Now under one master, Bohemia was one of the most important of the feudal dependencies of the Empire, and it became a matter of moment to the rival candidates Otho and Philip to secure the adhesion of Ottokar. Accordingly, to use the words of a Bohemian chronicle, Philip made a treaty "with our king Primizl, then our duke," and, when he had himself been consecrated king of the Romans (1198), he "at the same time made our duke king of Bohemia."² That so powerful a feudatory should support the candidature of Philip was not to the mind of Innocent. He therefore wrote "to the duke of Bohemia," praising him for having a care for his dignity and advancement, but blaming him for seeking a crown from one "who as yet has not him-

Ottokar I.
favours
first Philip
of Suabia
for the
Empire.

¹ "Cum itaque, sicut audivimus," wrote Honorius III., December 3, 1221, ap. Smičiklas, iii. p. 196, "in partibus Bosnie tamquam in cubilibus structionum heretici receptati velut lamie nudatis mammis catulos suos lactent, dogmatizando palam sue pravitatis errores," etc. Cf. Thomas, *Hist. Salon.*, cc. 26 and 28. See Leger, *l.c.*, p. 508 ff., for the rest of the history of Bogomilism in Bosnia.

² Cf. the *Annals* of Vincent of Prague, *Contin. Gerlacii*, an. 1198, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 710. Cf. *Chron. reg. Colon.*, *contin.*, an. 1198. To judge of the free intercourse between Rome and Bohemia at this period, see the *Life* of Hroznate, the founder of the monastery at Teple, ap. Emler, *Fontes Bohem.*, i. 369 ff.

self legitimately secured the royal dignity." He urged him, therefore, to apply for the royal crown to Otho, emperor of the Romans elect, and went on to promise that "since the Apostolic See . . . is the foundation of the whole of Christendom . . . we, from the plenitude of power conferred upon us, will bring it about that the dignity when granted you shall become hereditary."¹

He then
supports
Otho,

This letter produced such an effect on Ottokar that a papal envoy was soon able to report that the duke of Bohemia "is with us."² It was not, however, seemingly till 1203 that he broke out into open opposition against Philip,³ and, as a reward, had his title of king confirmed by Otho and by the Pope (1204).⁴

but is com-
pelled to
return to
Philip,
1204.

But Ottokar was no match in the field for Philip, who, after having defeated the landgrave of Thuringia and the king of Hungary, compelled the unwilling Ottokar to submit to his authority (c. November 1204).⁵ After Philip's assassination Ottokar naturally again gave in his adhesion to Otho, and then once more followed the Pope's lead, and was one of the first to abandon Otho and to attach himself to the young Frederick (1212).⁶ The

¹ Ep. 44, *R. I.*, c. March 1201. "Cum . . . apostolica sedes . . . fundamentum totius Christianitatis existat."

² *Ib.*, 52, c. July 1201. "Dux Bohemiæ, potior pars auxilii sui, et dominus Argentinensis . . . nobiscum sunt."

³ *Chron. reg. Colon., cont. III.*, 1203; *Ann. Zwitfaltenenses*, an. 1203, ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. p. 58.

⁴ *Cf.* epp. vii. 49 and 54; and epp. 106, 127, 102, *R. I.*; and *supra*, vol. xi. p. 183 f.

⁵ *Ann., cont. Admunt.*, an. 1204, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. 590. Philip endeavoured to secure Ottokar's loyalty by giving his daughter Cunegunda to Wenceslaus, the Bohemian's son. *Ann. Prag.*, an. 1207, ap. *ib.* Ottokar, however, constantly assured the Pope that it was simply pure necessity that prevented him from favouring Otho. Ep. 156, *R. I.*

⁶ *Cf.* Frederick's bull in his favour: "Ottocarus a primo inter alios principes, specialiter pre ceteris in imperatorem nos elegerit," etc. Ap. H.-B., *Hist. Dip.*, i. p. 216, September 26, 1212. *Cf.* the next document.

golden bull of privileges which he obtained on this occasion from Frederick, and which made him practically independent of the Empire, is a very tangible proof that self-interest was as much the guide of the king of Bohemia as honour and conscience, or the Pope.

In fact, when it suited him, Ottokar was not too ready to obey the Pope. He had married Adelaide, the daughter of Otho, marquis of Mesnia or Meissen, but had divorced her in the year 1199, after an unjust sentence had been given in his favour by the bishop of Prague.¹ He then married Constance, the sister of Béla III., king of Hungary, and begged the Pope to confirm his action.² Like every other person in distress, the injured Adelaide appealed to the Pope, who at once commissioned the archbishop of Magdeburg to inquire into the case.³ But when the Pope's commissioners cited Ottokar to appear before them, he treated their messengers so shockingly that they allowed the affair to drop.⁴ However, after his defeats by Philip (1204), Ottokar acknowledged that his troubles had been brought upon him by his treatment of Adelaide, and promised to take her back.⁵ When, however, his difficulties had passed away, the time-server refused to fulfil his solemn engagements, and the matter was again referred to the Pope.⁶ The immediate result was the appointment of a second commission of inquiry (1206).⁷

The question of Ottokar's divorce.

¹ Ep. ii. 188.

² See his letter to Innocent, whose "cautious and powerful authority is," he says, "known to all." He puts forth the plea of consanguinity, and tells of his marriage with the sister of Béla, "a king in all things most devoted to you." Ap. Friedrich, *Cod. dip. Boh.*, ii. 6 ff.

³ ii. 188, and another letter printed by Friedrich, *l.c.*, p. 14 ff. The Pope points out how Ottokar has followed the evil example of the king of France. Ep. ii. 197, October 14, 1199. Cf. *infra*.

⁴ Ep. ix. 60, April 1206.

⁵ *Ib.*

⁶ *Ib.*

⁷ For, as the Gerlach contin. of Vincent of Prague notes, Innocent was "immobiliter tenax sui propositi." Ap. Emler, *Fontes Bohem.*, ii. 515.

But no progress in the case was made. First Ottokar declared that the judges named by the Pope were prejudiced against him, and then the murder of Philip of Suabia caused the sudden return to Rome of the papal legates, Cardinals Leo and Ugolino, whom Innocent had appointed as the final judges of the affair (1208).¹

After Constance, Ottokar's second wife, had introduced fresh complications into the affair by offering to prove that Adelaide was related to Ottokar within the forbidden degrees, Innocent decided to try the case in person, and in April 1210 ordered the parties concerned to send to him before the feast of St. Martin persons qualified properly to plead their cause.² But at this juncture the matrimonial affairs of Ottokar appear to drop out of the papal Register. The Bohemian king, however, would seem not to have sent anyone to Rome in order to plead his cause; or, if he did, he appears not to have submitted to the adverse decision of the Pope. Although throughout this case Innocent was no doubt hampered by political considerations, as he was naturally anxious not to offend either the king of Hungary, his most reliable auxiliary in the Near East, or even Ottokar himself, Otho's most influential supporter, still, it is possible he may have taken action after Ottokar's manifest display of contempt of his decision. At any rate, so at least we are told by the Annals of Cologne, the princes of the Empire decided that Ottokar's treatment of Adelaide rendered him unworthy to rule, and in the presence of a large number of the nobility of Bohemia, the Emperor Otho made over his kingdom to his son Wratislav (1212).³ But by having

¹ Ep. xi. 184, December 11, 1208.

² Ep. xiii. 50, April 13, 1210. This is the longest letter on the divorce question in Innocent's Register, and shows his legal mind to perfection.

³ *Chron. reg. Colon., contin. III.*, an. 1212, pp. 232-3.

attached himself to the cause of Frederick, the Bohemian monarch, while putting both Innocent and the youthful candidate for the Empire under an obligation to him, had naturally irritated Otho. The assertion, therefore, just quoted from the annals of a city which had throughout been ardently devoted to the cause of Otho, may mean no more than that the emperor, in conjunction with certain Bohemian malcontents, endeavoured to punish Ottokar's desertion of his standard. In any case, it does not appear that Ottokar was forced to give up Constance, though he must have satisfied the Holy See in some way regarding his divorce, as he contrived to retain its favour.¹

In the latter portion of his reign Ottokar was engaged in various more or less obscure quarrels with his clergy. He seems to have imitated our Henry II., and to have carried on a dispute with Andrew, bishop of Prague, similar to that between Henry II. and St. Thomas Becket. In the golden bull of privileges which, as we have seen, Frederick II. gave Ottokar, he granted him "the right and authority of investing the bishops of his kingdom," but on the understanding that "they were to enjoy that liberty and security which they were wont to have from our predecessors." How far Ottokar observed this condition is not easy to say; but Andrew, bishop of Prague, accused him of violating the rights of the clergy in the matter of tithes and of ecclesiastical immunities generally.² In defence of the rights of the Church, Andrew placed Bohemia under an interdict (April 1216), and betook himself to Rome in order to enlist the sympathies of the

Ottokar
quarrels
with his
clergy.

¹ Cf. a letter of Honorius III. (January 18, 1217) to Ottokar praising his "fidelity to the Apostolic See," ap. Pressutti, *Regest.*, i. p. 46.

² He "opposuit se Ottakro, regi Boemie et magnatibus ejus pro libertate Pragensis æcclesie," says a chronicle, ap. Emler, *Fontes Rer. Bohem.*, ii. 38.

Pope,¹ Honorius III. took up his cause,² and in the following year Ottokar asked the Pope to send a legate to Bohemia to settle the dispute.³ After much negotiation, though Andrew died an exile in Rome, the dispute was settled by a concordat in favour of the Church (1223).⁴

POLAND.

Political
condition
of Poland.

During the whole period from the death of Boleslas III., Wry-mouthed (†1139), to the days of Przemyslaw I. (1295-1296), Poland was in a very anarchical condition. Various local dukes disputed the authority of him who was known as duke of Poland; and the kings of Bohemia claimed to be his suzerains. Especially was the country troubled during most of the pontificate of Innocent by the wars for ducal supremacy between Leszek (or Lesko) V., the White (1194-1227), and his uncle Mieczyslaw (or Mesko), the Elder, and his nephew Ladislaus III. If Leszek was ultimately victorious (1207-1227), it is certain that for many years the chief power in the land was in the hands either of his uncle or his nephew.

Into a country distracted by divisions which were ultimately to be its ruin, Innocent, following in the footsteps of his predecessors, endeavoured to introduce some measure of law and order. His work, and that of the Popes generally for Poland, was not in vain; and the gallant Poles, ever true to the Church of Rome, were for centuries the bulwark of western Europe, first against the Tartars, and then against their kinsmen the Turks.

¹ *Chron. ap. l.c.*, or ap. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 166, p. 315.

² Pressutti, *Reg.*, i. 108, June 22, 1217.

³ *Ib.*, p. lii, n. 10, c. May 1218.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii. p. 133, May 11, 1223. Cf. *Kronika Pulkavova*, an. 1221, ap. Emler, *l.c.*, v. 131. The Bohemian chronicle of the priest Přebík, surnamed Pulkava, was written by order of Charles IV., and extended from B.C. to 1330. See also Lutzow, *Bohemia*, p. 50 f.

The Roman Pontiffs had a particular reason to be interested in Poland, as its princes had, in the tenth century, placed it under the special protection of the Holy See, and paid the Pope a tax as a sign of their dependence.¹ To introduce some of the work of Innocent III. in connection with Poland, we may note that Urban III., who had consecrated Fulk, bishop of Cracow, confirmed the privileges of that see, naming its incumbent the second bishop of the Polish hierarchy, and giving him the right to consecrate the archbishop (1186).² This we mention because it is recorded that in 1208 Innocent confirmed the election of his successor, who was no other than Vincent of Cracow, known as Kadlubeck, the father of Polish history.³

Urban III.,
Celestine
III., and
Innocent
III. and
Poland.

More immediately concerned with the work of Innocent III. in Poland was the mission of Cardinal Peter, who was sent into that country to try to effect a moral reform amongst its clergy and people. The political disorders of which we have just spoken had, as usual, been accompanied by a considerable decline in public morality. The priests ceased to observe their vows of chastity, and the laity played fast and loose with the bonds of matrimony. Sent to Poland by Celestine III. in 1197, Cardinal Peter renewed the Church's laws regarding clerical celibacy, and, in order to impress upon the laity the sacredness of the sacrament of matrimony, decreed that in future marriage was to be publicly celebrated in the church, according to ecclesiastical law.⁴

¹ Cf. *supra*, iv. 383, and especially Fabre, *La Pologne et le Saint-Siège*, p. 163 ff., in *Études ded. à G. Monod*.

² Jaffé, 15,528, February 4, 1186. Cf. *Ann. Cracov.*, and *Ann. Polon.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. pp. 593 and 629.

³ *Ann. capit. Cracov.*, 1208, ap. *ib.*, p. 594; *Ann. Polon.*, p. 631. "Hic Vincencius, dictus Kadlub, cronicam compilavit Polonorum": ap. a chronicle in *Mon. Polon.*, ii. p. 876, ed. Bielowski.

⁴ "Instituit matrimonium contrahere in facie ecclesie." *Ann. Cracov.*, an. 1197, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. 594.

Innocent
furthers
reform in
Poland.

The reform thus inaugurated was pushed forward vigorously by Innocent. He ordered the archbishop of Gnesen and his suffragans not to admit to ecclesiastical dignities such clergy as were publicly married, to prohibit the performance of stage plays in the churches, and especially to forbid the clergy from taking part in them.¹ He ordered the chaplains of the nobility to pay to their ecclesiastical superiors the *cathedratica*, and their other dues;² bade all the clergy assist their archbishop in his labours for the liberty of the Church;³ and exhorted the bishops to give pecuniary help to him, as he had lost so much money during the exile he had endured for the same great cause.⁴

Freedom
for the
Polish
Church.

Particularly did he address the powerful ones of the land. Very strongly did he write to Duke Ladislaus III., who was at one and the same time usurping the regal rights of his uncle Leszek (Lesko) and the recognised privileges of the Church. He blamed him for wishing, contrary to the custom of the country, to bestow the prebends of the church of Gnesen at his pleasure, for seizing the treasure of its church, for causing a prisoner to be guarded and supported by it, for handing over to prison and even to torture clerics in sacred orders, and for other injuries inflicted on the archbishop and his church.⁵ "Gather together your senses," wrote the Pope, "and with them enter into yourself; carefully consider what is the extent of your power, measure your strength, calculate your abilities, and see if by your own strength you could so oppress the Church of Christ unless

¹ ix. 235. He speaks of the clergy in these plays who: "per gestulationum suarum debacchationes obscenas in conspectu populi decus faciunt clericali vilescere, quem potius . . . verbi Dei deberent prædicatione mulcere." All these letters of Innocent with regard to Poland are also published in the *Codex diplom. . . . Poloniae*, vol. i.

■ ix. 221.

³ ix. 222; cf. 231.

⁴ ix. 232.

■ ix. 217, January 12, 1207; cf. 216, 218, 227.

He gave you those gifts without which (whatever tyrannical desires you may harbour in your mind) you could never have any such power.”¹

Dealing with “all the dukes of Poland,” he forbade them to seize the revenues of vacant sees,² to confer ecclesiastical benefices,³ to plunder the clergy,⁴ and to interfere with the freedom of ecclesiastical elections and with the payment of tithes.⁵

The exertions of Innocent and the sufferings of Henry, archbishop of Gnesen, met with their reward. A number of the dukes, headed by “Lestco, duke of Cracow,” and including “Wladislaus, duke of Calis (Kalisch),” guaranteed by charter the freedom of the Polish Church. “As our holy mother the Church,” opens the document, “gives freely to those who love her the things which are of the spirit, it is not a great thing if every Christian should serve her somewhat in what concerns this world.” Hence the dukes propose to bring back the affairs of the Church to the state in which the pious deeds of their ancestors had placed it. They therefore promise the bishops to observe the immunities of the Church, to respect and to restore its property, to allow the dependents of the Church to be judged by the Church’s judges, and to free them from certain civil obligations.⁶

The struggles of Andrew of Prague and Henry of Gnesen were the same as those of Thomas of Canterbury. In every country of Europe during this epoch the Church had to fight to prevent its absorption by the State, and in country after country we find the clergy and the nobles,

¹ ix. 217.

² ix. 236.

³ ix. 234.

⁴ ix. 230.

⁵ ix. 223 and 220.

⁶ See the charter of the freedom of the Polish Church, ap. *Codex diplom. Polon.*, i. pp. 66–7. “Volumus etiam quod homines ecclesiarum immunes sint a servitute quod dicitur, povoz et prevod et prevori et naraz et nastava.” Cf. Innocent’s confirmation of this charter, xiv. 43, April 21, 1211, and another, ap. *Codex P.*, i. p. 81.

under the guidance of the Popes, wresting from kings the declaration that the Church of that country is free.

Peter's
Pence in
Poland.

Poland, like England, had long been in the habit of paying Peter's Pence. As in this country, it was a land-tax; and a very curious letter of Innocent regarding it has come down to us. It appears that in Poland there were constant issues of new coins, and each new issue resulted in a depreciation in the value of its predecessor. In consequence of this, large numbers of people always paid their Peter's Pence, the *Swentego Petra*, in a depreciated coinage. For this fraud the Pope reproached them, and by the example of Ananias and Sapphira exhorted them to be just in their dealings with the Almighty. "Although," wrote Innocent, "He does not need your gifts (*honorum*), still, because it is dangerous for you fraudulently and ungratefully to keep back what you owe Him, we bid you pay what you owe without fraud."¹

Parts of
Poland
under a
more
special pro-
tection of
the Holy
See.

Whilst Poland in general was under the protection of the Holy See, certain provinces and dioceses placed themselves under its more particular protection. In 1211 Ladislaus Plwacz, or the Spitter, duke of Kalisch, in order to shield himself from the designs of his powerful neighbours, offered his patrimony to the Pope, and received back from him the reply: "We take thy person and thy property . . . under our protection and under that of Blessed Peter, . . . and, as a mark of this protection . . . you shall pay every three years to us and to our successors the four marks (of gold) *ad pondus Poloniae*, which you have freely offered."²

¹ Ep. ix. 219. A letter in Pitra, from *Reg.*, ix., *De epp. Rom. Pont.*, p. 521, shows that in Poland as elsewhere special places paid special sums to Rome. From a diploma in the *Codex Pol.*, iv. n. 2054, p. 5. Fabre argues that the princes had the right to dispense from the payment of Peter's Pence; but perhaps, when they thus exempted a locality, they paid the tax themselves.

² Ep. xiv. 51, May 13, 1211. Cf. *Liber Censuum*, i. p. 151, ed.

Even such a powerful ruler as Boleslas III. understood the value of papal support, and strove to obtain it. He had made a decree that the capital of Poland, Cracow, should always belong to the eldest son of his direct line, and had caused it to be approved by the Apostolic See. This decree, "evidently," as he said, "made in the interests of the general good and of the peace of the whole country," Innocent solemnly ratified, and ordered the archbishop of Gnesen to see to its observation.¹

Innocent
confirms a
decree of
Boleslas
III.

A document printed by Turgeneff, who collected the historic monuments of Russia,² serves to remind one that the Popes had not forgotten Russia, which, as its rulers explained to Honorius III., was wishful to lay aside all the doctrinal errors into which it had fallen "through a want of preachers."³ The Russians had received their Christianity from Constantiople, and had rather ignorantly fallen into the schismatical footsteps of their instructor than walked into schism with their eyes open. Hence many centuries had to elapse before they were definitely separated from Rome. Large sections at least of the Russians were constantly entering into union with the Holy See during the Middle Ages.⁴

Innocent
and Russia,
1207.

In 1207 Innocent addressed (October 7) a letter to all the clergy and laity in Russia. "Although like strangers you have up to this time severed yourselves from the bosom of your mother, still we who, though unworthy,

Fabre. Still further to interest the Holy See in his behalf, Ladislaus somewhat later increased his payment to ten marks. Cf. ep. Honorius III., February 9, 1217, ap. Potthast, n. 5452. Cf. ep. i. 43. In February 25, 1188, Clement III. took the diocese of Pomerania under his special protection on similar conditions. Jaffé, 16, 154.

¹ Ep. xiii. 82, June 10, 1210.

² *Hist. Rus. Mon.*, p. 3 f., also in *P. L.*, ep. x. 138, October 7, 1207.

³ *H. R. M.*, p. 20 f., or ep. Hon., ap. Horoy, v. 178, n. 47.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, vi. 163 ff.

have been placed in the pastoral office by God to dispense wisdom to His people, cannot put away from us a father's feelings, but by exhortations and sound doctrine must strive to make you conform as members to the head, so that Ephraim may return to Juda, and Samaria to Jerusalem." After expressing a wish that, after their wanderings, they may return to the one whom the Saviour named the teaching head of the Church, he adduced the well-known passages from St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John to show that his authority was indeed derived from God. Especially did he elaborate the point that our Lord committed to St. Peter all His sheep, and that He made him the teaching head in order that all of them might be kept together in one fold. Hence as the Pope was his successor, it was not strange that he should seek to bring back wandering sheep in order that there might be one shepherd and one fold, and to prevent the disfigurement of the body of the Church. "Now that the empire and Church of the Greeks," he continued, "has almost wholly returned to its devotion to the Holy See, receives its injunctions and obeys its commands, does it not seem outrageous that the part should not conform to the whole?"¹ Innocent concluded his letter by telling the Russians that he had sent to them in his stead Gregory, the cardinal-priest of St. Vitalis, a man of noble birth, literary culture, and conspicuous virtue, a man whose merits have endeared him to all. He earnestly exhorted them to hearken to the voice of the cardinal, and then perchance the evils under which they were groaning (caused by the perpetual petty wars between the Russian dukes) might be brought to an end.

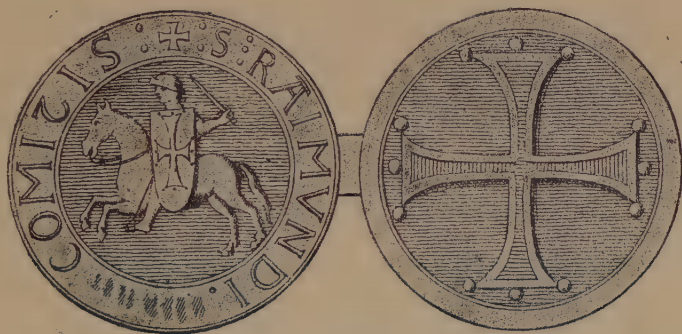
Whether the efforts of Innocent brought forth any immediate fruit in Russia does not appear; but no doubt

¹ "Nonne absonum esse videtur ut pars toti non congruat, et singularitas a suo discrepet universo?" *H. R. M.*, p. 3.

it was one of the causes which helped to bring about the return to Catholic unity of various Russian dukes and bishops under his successors during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹

If what our space has permitted us to say of Innocent's intercourse with eastern Europe be reviewed, it will, we believe, be seen that his enormous influence there was, almost always, exercised with justice in the cause of law and order, reasonable national aspirations, and peace. He did a work for the development of the various nationalities of eastern Europe which merits their lasting gratitude.

¹ Cf. *Vicissitudes de l'Église catholique en Pologne et en Russie*, p. 21 ff.; and Du Caillaud, *Essai sur l'Église Russe catholique*, p. 88 ff. On the civil wars in Russia at this time see Rambaud, *Hist. de la Russie*, p. 86 ff. We find the Russian dukes themselves attributing to their religious errors the troubles they were enduring. Cf. the letter of Honorius III., January 17, 1227, already quoted. See Hurter, ii. 337, for Innocent's unsuccessful dealing with Halicz, in his days a province of Russia to the north-west of Hungary.



Seal of Count Raymond VI. of Toulouse, A.D. 1210

CHAPTER IV.

THE EAST, ARMENIA, THE MARONITES, GEORGIA, AND AFRICA.

Sources.—Much material for Armenian history will be found in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens*, Paris, 1869 ff.; and in Langlois (1) *Le trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, Venice, 1863, (2) *Collection des historiens de l'Arménie*, Paris, 1867 ff. *Bullarium Maronitarum*, ed. T. Anaissi, Rome, 1911.

Works.—*Histoire de l'Arménie*, by F. Tournebize, Paris, 1911, an important, if somewhat confused, work full of reliable information; A. Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, part iv., London, 1913, and the other works on Armenia already cited. *Rome et l'église syrienne-maronite*, 517-1531, by B. G. Al-Ghaziri, Beyrouth, 1906, is a book written by an ardent believer in the unbroken Catholicity of his countrymen.

THE last native dynasty which held any considerable power in Greater Armenia, *i.e.*, in Armenia proper, and which battled first against the Byzantine empire and then against the conquering Turks, was that of the Bagratidæ. When their sway was finally ended by the Seljukian Turks in the second half of the eleventh century, Rupen, one of this family, established himself in the fastnesses of the Taurus, and, at the expense of the Byzantines, founded in Cilicia a new Armenia, Armenia the Lesser, with the mountainous stronghold of Sis as his capital.

Of his dynasty, which lasted for about three centuries (1079-1375), when its power was finally broken by the

Armenia proper, Lesser Armenia, and the Bagratidæ.

Leo II., king of Armenia. His coronation.

Mamelukes (1375),¹ the most remarkable ruler was Leo (Livon or Ghevont) II., the Great (1185-1219). To strengthen his position, he sought to ally himself both in Church and State with Constantinople. But, finding that the Greeks showed a disposition to domineer over him both in Church and State,² he turned to the West,³ and sought the title of king from the Emperor Henry VI. and from Pope Celestine III. His request was granted, and on January 6, 1199, he was solemnly crowned king in the name of the Pope and the emperor by Cardinal Conrad of Wittlesbach, archbishop of Mainz.⁴

¹ And then "poor Armenia, destined for ages to be the cruel sport of Mameluke and Osmanly despotism, ceased to be a Christian state." Sir W. Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt*, p. 100, London, 1896.

² Cf. *supra*, vol. xi. 229, 237.

³ Negotiations for a reunion of the Armenian Church with Rome had been already carried on under Popes Lucius III. (Jaffé, 15340) in 1185, under Clement III. (*ib.*, 16461-3) in 1189, and also under Urban III., as we learn from Joachim of Fiore, who wrote: "Et quidem de credulitate non parva jam tenemus precurrentia signa quod episcopum Armenorum conversum ex magna parte ad ritum S. Matris Ecclesie nuper sub Urbano papa ipso postulante didicimus." *Super IV. Evangelia*, fol. 218, v⁰; and again, *ib.*, f. 197, he speaks of the Armenians who, "nuper venientes ad Romanum Pontificem, petierunt sacrificare in Azymis et ritui S. R. Ecclesie conformari." Joachim's own experience at Jerusalem of the piety of the Armenians caused him to have a great regard for this people who were more devoted to the Roman Church than any other Eastern people: "fidei Romane pre ceteris illarum partium ecclesiis que latine non subsunt adherere cognoscitur." *Ib.*, f. 190. This note is taken from Fournier, *Études sur Joachim de Flore*, p. 25, and has been given at length, because access to the works of Joachim is exceptionally difficult. Regarding other acts of union between Armenia and Rome, cf. *supra*, vol. ix. p. 134 ff.

⁴ Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, xxxi. 29, declares that Leo's coronation was made to depend on his "causing all the boys under twelve to begin to study Latin"; and the later Armenian historian, Guiragos of Kantzag (fl. 1272), in his Universal Chronicle (ap. *Doc. Arm.*, i. 422 ff.) asserts that the archbishop proposed three conditions for the coronation: (1) that the Armenians should keep Christmas and other feasts on the proper days; (2) that they should recite the divine office every day; and (3) that they should observe certain fast-days.

The ques-
tion of
reunion.

This we know, among other sources, from a letter addressed to Pope Innocent by Gregory Abirad,¹ who styles himself "the man of Jesus Christ, by God's grace the *Catholicus* of the whole Church of Armenia, the son of your holy Church, which is the foundation of the law of the whole of Christianity—*fundamentum legis totius Christianitatis*." The Pope, on the other hand, he calls, in true Oriental style, "the head after Christ, consecrated by Him, the head of the Catholic Church of Rome, which is the mother of all the churches, the sublime Pope distinguished by that prudence and sanctity which becomes one who holds the place of the Apostles." Moreover, in

The Armenian clergy, according to the same author, refused to accept the conditions, but the king told them that he had to make at least an apparent submission, and induced twelve bishops to agree to the conditions on oath. Guiragos regards Leo as perfect except for "his passion for the opposite sex." P. 424. Cf. Jacques de Vitry, *Hist.*, i. c. 78.

¹ Cf. the letter, "faithfully translated from Armenian into Latin, of the Armenian *Catholicus* Gregory (Abirad, 1195-1202) to Pope Innocent." "Noveritis, domine, quod ad nos venit [note the high-flown style of the East] nobilis, sapiens et sublimis archiepiscopus Maguntinus, qui nobis attulit ex parte Dei et ex parte sublimitatis Ecclesiæ Romanæ et ex parte magni imperatoris Romanorum, sublimem coronam et coronavit regem nostrum Leonem quam nos perdidimus a longo tempore, unde nos fuimus elongati a vobis." Inter ep. Inn., ii. 217. Cf. Tournebize, p. 185, quoting Sempad, *Chron.*, trans. Langlois, p. 22, and other Armenian historians. Sempad, the Constable, was allied to the family of Rupen, and died in battle in 1277, as we learn from Nève, *L'Arménie chrétienne*, p. 374 f., Louvain, 1886. He states (*Doc. Arm.*, i. 634) that Leo was anointed king "under the suzerainty of the Church of Rome, and of the emperor of Germany." With regard to the date of the coronation, Tournebize decides in favour of 1199 rather than 1198, but suggests two coronations—the one of 1198 being less solemn. A contemporary anonymous Palestine pilgrim, speaking of the Armenians, says: "Of late they have promised obedience to the Church of Rome, since their king has received his crown from the hands of the archbishop of Mainz, the legate of the Holy See." English version by A. Stewart, p. 28, ap. *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, London, 1894. The same author, *ib.*, notes that while the Syrians "are useless in war," the Armenians "have some slight skill in arms."

the beginning of his letter the *Catholicus* expresses a hope that our Lord will preserve the Pope in safety, "because, when you, the head, are safe, we who are the body will, through your blessing, be safe too." Later on in the letter he informs the Pope that the king has shown them his injunctions (*præcepta vestra*), and that they freely embrace "the law and fraternity of the sublime Roman Church which is the mother of all the churches. She used to be our mother (*solebamus eam habere*), and she is now; . . . and all the archbishops and bishops and all the clergy of our Church who are numerous and in many lands are firmly resolved to obey your behests. . . . We beg you in God's name to send us such help and advice as will enable us to preserve God's honour and yours and our Christianity."¹

No doubt about the same time the king addressed a letter to the "lord Innocent, Supreme Pontiff and universal Pope, one most worthy of such great honour." He told him that he hoped to bring all the Armenians to the unity of the Catholic Church, and then went on to what was evidently the chief point of his letter. Saying that he had exposed to the archbishop of Mainz the destitute condition both of his own kingdom and of that of Syria, he entreated Innocent to send them the help of Christendom before they were swamped by the deluge.²

¹ ii. 217, probably written about the same time as the following letter of the king, viz., May 23, 1199.

² ii. 219. Cf. *Gesta*, c. 109 ff. The Armenian patriarch Nerses (1166-1173), who for his poetical abilities was called "Schnorhali" or "the Gracious," when, after the fall of Edessa, he was calling on Rome for help, had sung of it:

"O Rome, mother of cities,
Splendid and venerable,
The seat of St. Peter,
The chief of the Apostles,
Church unshakable
Built on the rock of Cephas."

Cf. *Doc. Armen.*, i 228.

In his replies, the Pope congratulates the *Catholicus* on what he had heard first from the archbishop of Mainz, the "cardinal-bishop of Sabina, one of the seven bishops who in the Roman Church are to be found by our side,"¹ and then from himself, viz., that he had accepted "the teaching authority (*magisterium*)" of the Roman Church, and he urges him to persevere in his devotion to the Apostolic See, and "to meditate on the law of God day and night. . . . Towards your subjects show yourself a master in doctrine, a father in correction, and a mother in love."

Moreover, he assures both the *Catholicus* and the king that at his exhortation "many have taken the Cross," and are ready to proceed to the help of the Holy Land.²

Unfortunately, the question of the complete reunion of the Armenian to the Roman Church was complicated not only by the war against the Moslems, but by the inter-Christian wars caused by the ambition of the count of Tripoli.³ Hence, in his letters to Leo and his nobles, Innocent urges the Armenians to prefer the common weal to their personal advantage, and "the work of the Crucified to their own profit;"⁴ and, in response to the king's request, sends him a banner of St. Peter to be used only against the enemies of the Cross.⁵

Leo, however, was a man far too full of ambition to think of allowing his private gains to be lessened by any consideration of the general profit. Heedless of the numbers dragged into the quarrel, he pursued his grand-

¹ ii. 218, November 23, 1199. Note Innocent's description of the suburbicarian bishops: "unum ex septem episcopis qui nobis in ecclesia Romana collaterales existunt."

² Cf. ii. 220, to the king, November 24, 1199.

³ Cf. *Gesta*, c. 111; ep. ii. 252 (which is a letter of King Leo to Innocent), and *supra*, vol. xi. p. 229 ff.

⁴ Epp. ii. 253 and 254, December 17, 1199.

⁵ *Ib.*, 255. Cf. ep. v. 43, October 1, 1201; a letter of Leo acknowledging the receipt of the banner "quod semper ante nos portari contra inimicos crucis ad honorem S. R. E. faciemus."

nephew's claim to Antioch with unceasing violence.¹ Moreover, what was even less justifiable, he kept forcible possession of a fortress (Gaston or Gastim) which on very good grounds was claimed by the Templars.²

Meanwhile, however, the preliminaries for the reunion of the two churches were being settled. Anxious about the complete independence of his country, Leo did not desire that it or even strangers dwelling in it should be subject to any foreign local bishop. "For the future," he wrote to the Pope, "be assured that we are bound by the chains of obedience to the Roman Church; but for that very reason, if so it pleases your Holiness, we do not desire to be subject to any other Latin Church."³ Also to express submission to the Apostolic See there was sent to Rome from Gregory, "the bishop *Catholicus* of all the Armenians . . . and from all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priests, and clergy under his authority," a letter addressed to "him who holds the Apostolic See, to the supreme head of the whole Church, and of all the sees on earth (*et totius terranæ sedis*), to the great confessor of Christ, to the chief asylum of religion and of the whole people (*primæ domui hospitalitatis totius populi et religionis*), to the successor of Blessed Peter, the first ruler after Christ and father of the whole world, to the one who sits in the place of God (*secundum Deum*), and who carries Christ in his body; to Innocent, by God's grace Supreme Pontiff and Universal Pope of the chief see of the city of Rome . . . and to our spiritual Father." After this eulogistic address the Armenian clergy declared that, though they were far removed from

The union
officially
accom-
plished,
1203,

¹ On the affair of the succession of Antioch, see epp. viii. 1 and 2, 119, 126; x. 214; xii. 8.

² Epp. ii. 259; vii. 189; xii. 45; xiv. 64-66; xvi. 2, 7.

³ Inter epp. Inn., v. 43, dated Sis, October 1, but belonging apparently to the year 1201. "Nos obedientiæ vinculis de cætero apostolicæ sedi esse alligatos non dubitetis."

the eyes of the Pope, they were one with him in charity, and were the sheep of one shepherd. They had received from Rome, they said, their faith, which they had not altered, and they would never separate from the Roman Church,¹ and would, moreover, strive to make the king and all the people subject to the Pope's authority.² Finally, rejoicing that it is reported that the kings of England and France have made peace, they implore the Pope to send them help.

In his answers Innocent granted Leo's request that ecclesiastical censures should not be inflicted on his kingdom except by the Pope himself, or by his legate, or at his special order,³ and he exhorted the *Catholicus* Gregory to strive to keep "the king and the whole Church of the Armenians in obedience to the law of the Lord and in devotion to us."⁴ At the same time, in compliance with the request⁵ of John, archbishop of Sis, chancellor of the king, and afterwards *Catholicus* of the Armenians, he granted him a ring, a mitre, and the pallium, to be taken to him by the cardinal-priests, Soffred (or Geoffrey) and Peter of St. Marcellus.⁶

The time had now come for the formal reconciliation of the Church of Armenia with that of Rome, and the two cardinals just named, who were being sent to Palestine in connection with the Crusade about to leave Venice, were commissioned to devote their attention in the meanwhile to the spiritual and temporal concerns of Armenia.

Splendid receptions were accorded by the Armenians

¹ Ep. v. 45, an. 1201. "Absit quod a S. R. Ecclesia removeamur usque in finem."

² "Regem, omnes barones et fideles suos sub vestro dominio stare faciemus." *Id.*

³ v. 44, June 1, 1202. Cf. xiii. 122, where Innocent declares that no one who has not ordinary jurisdiction over them may presume to pass any sentence on the Armenian hierarchy.

⁴ v. 46.

⁵ v. 47.

⁶ v. 48, June 1, 1202.

to both cardinals on their arrival in Cilicia.¹ Soffred was the first to reach the Holy Land (1202), and occupied himself in vain efforts to make peace between Leo and the count of Tripoli. When Cardinal Peter arrived in Cilicia (1203), "in my kingdom," wrote the Armenian king himself to Innocent, "we deliberated for some days on the obedience due from the Armenian Church to the Roman Church; and we, after much toil, have accomplished what our ancestors were for a long time unable to accomplish. We have brought the Armenian Church to that obedience. . . . The Lord *Catholicus* (John VII., the Magnificent), in accordance with your instructions, solemnly offered obedience and reverence to the holy Roman Church and to you by the hands of the legate. Then in our presence, in that of some of his suffragans and the clergy and in that of our own nobles and many foreign ones, he received with all respect and devotion the pallium which you had sent him. Moreover, he promised, in deference to the apostolic injunctions, to visit the holy Roman Church by his envoys every five years. Finally, while he promised to be present in person or by deputy at the councils held in Asia (*in cismarinis partibus*), it was decreed on the other hand that no ecclesiastical synods should be held there in the absence of himself or his legate."² The same history of the reunion of the two churches is given to the Pope by the *Catholicus* himself, who adds that the Armenians had already adopted some even of the customs (*institutiones*) of the Roman Church, and propose to adopt others in

¹ *Gesta*, c. 116, and ep. Leon., viii. 119, in the Register of Innocent. This letter is not dated, but must have been written after September 1203. It may, however, not have been written till after the departure of the legates for Constantinople, *i.e.*, till the second half of the year 1204. "Quanta potuimus honorificentia . . . ob vestri reverentiam illum (Peter) suscepimus."

² *Ib.*

course of time, when it can be done without causing scandal.¹

It was apparently at Cis² that this most important meeting between Cardinal Peter and the ecclesiastical and civil authorities took place; and we are assured by Salimbene, who gives us this information, that the legate presented a mitre and a crozier to the *Catholicus* and to each of his fourteen suffragans.³

Excom-
munication
of the king
of Armenia.

But whilst the Armenian king was declaring that the Pope had "the care and presidency (*prælationem*) of the whole Church of the Christian religion,"⁴ and John, "the humble *Catholicus* of the Armenians," was saluting him "with becoming obedience and reverence,"⁵ we meet with hints at least that the work of reunion was not effected quite as smoothly and completely as the letters of Leo and John would suggest.⁶ In any case, it is certain that the political mission of the cardinals did not succeed as well as the spiritual one. The king and the *Catholicus* maintained that in judging of the respective merits of the case between his grand-nephew Rupen and the count of Tripoli, and of that between himself and the Templars, cardinal Peter did not hold the balance fairly. Accordingly, he implored the Pope not to allow him any more power in connection with these questions.⁷ But it

¹ viii. 120. He says: "Armenica ecclesia primatum et magisterium S. R. Ecclesiæ a Deo sibi concessum recognoscens filia ipsius facta est devotissima."

² Salimbene, who had his information from Siccard, bishop of Cremona, who was present at the assembly, calls the place "Siciliam Cilicie municipium," i.e., Cis, and not Seleucia, as is conjectured by Dove. *Chron.*, an. 1203, p. 24, ed. *M. G. SS.*, xxxii.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Ep. viii. 119.

⁵ Ep. viii. 120.

⁶ See the Armenian and other authorities cited by Tournebize, pp. 268-9.

⁷ Epp. viii. 119-120. With these letters compare the full reports of their efforts to make peace sent separately by the two cardinals, ap. *Gesta*, c. 118, but not in the Register. Cardinal Soffred impresses upon the Pope that Leo was not prepared to submit to any tribunal

would appear that Leo was neither so straightforward as he pretended, nor was Cardinal Peter so unfair. This was at last brought home to Innocent, and he at length confirmed the excommunication which his delegate the patriarch of Jerusalem had pronounced against the Armenian monarch for his treatment of the Templars (1211).¹

This severity brought Leo to his knees, and he begged the patriarch to grant him absolution, as, "out of respect for the Pope," he had made full satisfaction to the Templars. The patriarch referred the matter to Innocent, who bade him absolve the king, but at the same time let him know that his misdeeds had, for the moment at least, rendered him unworthy of the help of the Church with regard to Rupen's claims to Antioch.²

Leo's desire to remain on good terms with Rome was sincere; and communion with it, which we have seen him win back after a brief period of excommunication, he retained to the day of his death under Honorius III.³

National establishments of the Armenians which have been found in Rome, at any rate from the thirteenth century to our own, either in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's or of St. Paul's outside-the-walls, testify eloquently to the fact that a section at least of the Armenians has for all these centuries remained in that union with Rome

but that of Rome: "Ipse (Leo) non committebat se nisi in iudicio nostro principaliter imo in nobis vestro." These documents were sent to the Pope about the middle of 1204. "Eramus in procinctu recedendi de terra, et eundi Constantinopolim," wrote Cardinal Peter.

¹ Ep. xiv. 64, May 18, 1211. Innocent will not have the Templars ("whose help is recognised as so valuable for the Holy Land") deprived of their goods: "quæ ad defensionem terræ sanctæ sunt potissimum deputatæ." Cf. xiv. 65-66, and ep. xvi. 2, wherein the Pope blames Leo for his excesses.

² xvi. 7, March 15-25, 1213.

³ Cf. *Regest. Honor.*, n. 676-7, p. 118; n. 1912, p. 316; n. 2160, p. 433, vol. i., ed. Pressutti. Cf. Tournebize, p. 284, and Balgy, *Hist. doctrin. cathol. inter Armenos*, p. 57 ff.

He is
absolved.
1213.

which was renewed under Innocent III.¹ And if far the greater number of the Armenians are to-day Monophysites, *i.e.*, are members of what may be called the national Church, the pontificate of Pius X. has seen a council of Uniat (Catholic) Armenian bishops in the Eternal City. Rome and not Etshmiadzin is the religious centre of tens of thousands of the long-suffering Armenians.

THE MARONITES.

The Maronites, 517-1213.

On the slopes of Mount Lebanon there have been from the seventh century to the present day a number of Syrians who, according to their own story, have, from that century till now, ever maintained themselves in communion with the See of Rome, and in some kind of political independence. These Syrians, heirs, they say, of the orthodox traditions of St. Maro of Apamea who died in the fifth century, and of St. John Maro who died in the eighth, have long been known as Maronites from the monastery of St. Maro on Mount Lebanon. These Catholic Maronites must not be confused, so they warn us themselves, with the Monothelite Maronites of Mesopotamia who follow the heterodox doctrine of Maro, a priest of Edessa in the sixth century, and of whom the traveller Ricold of Monte Crucis (†1309) wrote (*c.* 1294) that, as he descended the Tigris between Mossul and Bagdad, he met "Maronites, wicked and schismatical

¹ Cf. De Waal, *I luoghi pii sul territorio Vaticano*, p. 20 f.; and especially Ehrle, *Ricerche su alcune chiese del Borgo di S. Pietro*, Roma, 1907. In 1484 the famous traveller Brother Felix Faber, after speaking of Armenians who have some of the errors of the Greeks, speaks of others "who have no priests but Dominican friars, . . . and these are the best of Catholics." See his travels, ap. *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, viii. p. 437. Throughout the thirteenth century at least there was in Ancona a house of Armenians with which the Popes were in regular communication. Cf. *Regest. Bened. XI.*, p. 572, n. 958 f., ed. Grandjean.

people. They have an archbishop, and err in maintaining that Christ had but one will."¹

Others, however, are convinced that the history of the Maronites of Mount Lebanon is not so ancient, nor so simple, nor so honourable. It is contended that the people around the monastery followed its religious lead, and became Monothelite with their teachers in the seventh century, and that they only became Catholic again in 1182 under Aymeric the Latin patriarch of Antioch, when forty thousand of them became Catholics.²

Whether or not, then, the Catholic Maronites know more about their past history than their critics, they are at any rate now regarded by some as "perhaps the most ultramontane people on the earth,"³ and they were certainly Catholics when Innocent summoned their bishops to the Lateran Council (April 19, 1213).⁴

Innocent
has rela-
tions with
the Maro-
nites.

Their patriarch, Jeremias al Amshiti, obeyed the papal

¹ *Liber peregrinationis* or *Itinerarius*, p. 311, of his old French translator, ed. L. de Backer, Paris, 1877, or ap. Al-Ghaziri, p. 45. This last-named author contends that the doubts about the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites have arisen because there were two groups of Maronites, the orthodox groups of "Syria Secunda," who get their name from St. Maro and St. John Maro, and the heterodox group of Mesopotamia, who derive their name from Maro of Edessa, who invented Monothelism in the reign of the emperor Maurice. Cf. p. 47. Ricold goes on to tell us of the submission to Rome of this archbishop after he had heard his preaching. According to the old French version just cited: "Leur archevesque . . . se converti . . . et de sa propre main escript au pape de Romme sa créance, . . . et en ses lettres se soubmist en l'obéissance du pape."

² Cf. Will. of Tyre, *Hist. rer. trans.*, xxii. 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 201. "Nam cum per annos pene quingentos cujusdam Maronis hæresiarchæ errorem fuissent secuti, ita ut ab eo dicerentur Maronitæ, et ab Ecclesia fidelium sequestrati, . . . ad unitatem Ecclesiæ Catholicæ reversi sunt." Cf. Jacques de Vitry, *Hist.*, i. c. 77.

³ J. M. Neale, *A Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, i. p. 154. Cf. Labourt, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, sub voce *Maronites*; and Hergröther, *Hist. de l'Église*, ii. 345 f., and iv. 172.

⁴ Potthast, 4706.

summons, came to Rome, and was rewarded by the Pope with various privileges, as we find set forth in a bull which he addressed to him whilst he was still there.¹ This document would seem to attest the fact that, for a time at least before it was issued, the Maronites had for some period ceased to recognise the supremacy of Rome,² and had relapsed or fallen into Monothelism. In it Innocent told the patriarch how pleased he was at what had recently occurred in the Greek Church and in the Church of the Maronites: "For you were formerly like wandering sheep, not properly understanding that the Catholic Church was the one spouse of Christ, . . . that Christ was the one true Shepherd, and, after Him and through Him, that Peter was His Apostle and Vicar to whom the Lord had thrice committed the feeding of His sheep, whose faith and that of his successors, the Roman pontiffs, cannot fail, as the Lord has promised that he shall confirm his brethren in their faith." The Pope proceeded to note that it was when Cardinal Peter of St. Marcellus was in "your locality" that the patriarch "was converted to the true Shepherd"; acknowledged the Pope "as the Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church and Vicar of Jesus Christ"; and with a number of his suffragans and clergy in the presence of Cardinal Peter promised obedience to the Roman Church. The said cardinal, continued the Pope, then bade you acknowledge that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son as

¹ The bull (January 3, 1215) is to be found in Anaissi, p. 2 ff., and in Al-Ghaziri, p. 96 ff. "Volentes autem tibi Fr. Patriarcha, qui ob multam devotionem matrem tuam S. R. Ecclesiam personaliter visitans ad sacrum generale Concilium accessisti," etc.

² Hence he speaks to Jeremias about "*populo tuo noviter* ad obedientiam Ecclesiæ R. reverso." In the text we have said "would seem to attest," because Al-Ghaziri's commentary upon this document (pp. 84-96) causes a doubt, to say the least, as to whether what seems the obvious is really the true import of the document.

He proceeded from the Father, and that "in Christ there were two wills—to wit, a divine will and a human will."¹ In fine, he granted the patriarch the use of the pallium, which the patriarch of Antioch was to bestow upon him.

Though, however, it is clear that the Maronites were in full communion with Innocent III., many non-Maronite authors maintain that it was not till the sixteenth century that they were unwaveringly fixed in loyalty to the Holy See.² But in any case it is certain from the narratives of missionaries or pilgrims to the Holy Land that large numbers of the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, if not all of them, were from the days of that Pope always in communion with Rome. Dominican friars "of the province of the Holy Land" informed their *General* about the year 1256 that the Maronites, who had once for a long time been schismatics, were then only anxious to have their books corrected by the brethren.³ Burchard of Mount Sion, who is regarded as the most notable of all medieval pilgrims, writing about the year 1283 of the valleys of the Lebanon and the Antilibanus, says that "in them dwell many races . . . such as *Maronites, Armenians, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Georgians*, all of whom are Christians, and are, by their own account,

Continued
com-
munion
of the
Maronites
with Rome.

¹ *Ib.* He bids them confess their sins to their own priest at least once a year, and "devoutly to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist at least three times a year." On August 8, 1243, we find Innocent IV. confirming the appointment made by the Maronite patriarch to the archiepiscopal see "Aiolensis," ap. *Regest. Inn. IV.*, i. p. 15, ed. Berger. The see "Aiolensis" is probably that of Hajula, now a large village on the Lebanon.

² See, however, Al-Ghaziri, p. 114 ff.

³ Cf. a letter of the *General* Humbert to the brethren of his order, June 1256, ap. Denifle, *Chartular. Univers. Paris.*, i. p. 317 ff. When the pilgrim Brother Felix Faber in 1484 insists (c. 9) that the Maronites were Monothelites, he is speaking only of those dwelling in Jerusalem, Ap. *Pal. Pilg. Text. Soc.*, vol. x. Cf. *ib.* p. 392.

subjects of the Church of Rome.”¹ Furthermore, Ludolph de Suchem (in the diocese of Paderborn), whose *Description of the Holy Land* is said by some to be the best *Itinerarium* of the fourteenth century, is even more explicit. Writing in the year 1350, he says that Mount Lebanon, which “is exceeding long and in some places exceeding high,” is filled with towns and villages, “in all of which dwell Christians according to the Latin rite, who daily long for the coming of the Christians (on a Crusade), and many of whose bishops I have seen consecrated after the Latin rite.”² These assertions he repeats in a subsequent chapter (c. 45): “At the foot of Mount Lebanon,” he says, “dwells a vast multitude of Christians, conforming to the Latin rite and the Church of Rome, many of whose bishops I have seen consecrated by Latin archbishops.”³

GEORGIA.

Outline of
its history.

As though it were impossible that any corner of the Christian world should escape the paternal watchfulness of Innocent, not even distant Georgia succeeded in evading his notice.

In the hilly isthmus between the Black and Caspian seas, and between the mountains of Caucasus and those of Armenia,⁴ have dwelt from time immemorial a brave and handsome race, known to themselves as Iberians,

¹ *A Description of the Holy Land*, c. 3 *sub fin.*, Eng. trans., ap. *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc.*, vol. xii. p. 26. Later on, c. 13, p. 107, Burchard makes it plain that, when he speaks of Nestorians, etc., he is referring to races of men rather than to sects of heretics; and in an earlier portion of the same chapter, when speaking of these various peoples, Georgians, Armenians, and the rest, he says: “Their prelates declare that they would most willingly belong to the Church of Rome.” P. 102 f.

² C. 24, ap. *ib.*, p. 48.

³ P. 135.

⁴ On the geography of the medieval kingdom of Georgia see the narrative (1307) of the Armenian prince, Hetoun, p. 145 f., of the old French translation, ed. De Backer.

and to their neighbours, at least since the Middle Ages, as Georgians. For some two thousand years these bold mountaineers retained their independence, though at times they owed in turn some allegiance to the Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Mongols, and Tartars. To this heroic people Christianity was preached in the fourth century, and from that day to this, despite the most cruel persecutions at the hands of the Moslem, the majority of them have ever held fast to the chief doctrines of Catholic Christianity. Many, moreover, have never wilfully been false to any tenet of Catholicism ; and some, at any rate, have never deliberately cut themselves off from due subjection to the See of Rome,¹ but, since the Middle Ages at least, have been in actual communion with it.

Unfortunately, in 1783 the Georgian monarch, Heraclius II. (1762-1798), whose bravery called forth the admiration even of Frederick I. of Prussia, made himself the vassal of Russia. Wearied by centuries of the cruellest warfare with the implacable Moslem, this splendid little people hoped to enjoy a measure of peace under the ægis of their great Christian neighbours. But the Russians, by no means for the last time in their history, proved false to their pledges. In 1801 the Czar Alexander I. annexed Georgia to the Russian empire, and the Georgians lost not merely their political independence, but that religious autonomy which they had enjoyed for ages.²

¹ So says the Georgian author (Michael Tamarati) of the latest and best book on the Georgian Church—*L'Église Géorgienne*, Rome, 1910. "Il est vrai qu'aujourd'hui la plus grande partie d'entre eux sont séparés de l'Église catholique ; mais leur schisme est purement matériel : il n'a pas vicié leur antique foi ; car il n'a été causé que par le manque de relations avec l'Église catholique, ainsi que l'attestent les documents pontificaux et que nous le verrons en son lieu." P. 134. Tamarati's excellent work is full of authentic documents printed by him for the first time.)

² Tamarati, p. 90 ff. There seems to be some dispute as to when the Georgian Church first became *autocephalous* or independent of

For centuries the only religious superior they had ever at any time acknowledged was the successor of St. Peter. Now their church is absorbed by that of Russia, and the people are enduring politically and spiritually a more systematic, if not more violent, persecution than ever they have suffered before.

St. Gregory
I., the
Great, and
Innocent
III.

When Gregory, afterwards the first Pope of that name, was a young man, the historian Procopius in 565 could say not only that the Iberians (Georgians) were Christians, but that, of all those whom he knew called by that name, they were the most tenacious of whatever the faith prescribed,¹ and that, too, despite Persian persecution. With the hierarchy of this most Christian people, whilst the Church of Christ was still one, Gregory, when he became Pope, was in regular communication.² Again, whilst the great Gregory was still a young man, there was born into the world the greatest enemy the Christian name has ever known, the Arab Mohammed. The fanatical followers of this conscious or unconscious impostor soon overran the greater portion of the Byzantine empire; and, if communion between Georgia and Rome ceased for some centuries, it was not because it was the will of schismatical

any other church. It would appear, however, that the *Catholicus* of Georgia became practically independent of Antioch towards the close of the fifth century, and completely independent of it in the eighth century. At least in the thirteenth not even the ambitious patriarch of Constantinople claimed any jurisdiction over Georgia, as its church does not appear in the list of the dependencies of that church issued by Andronicus II. (1282-1328), but he saluted "the blessed universal archbishop of all Iberia" as his "brother." Cf. d'Avril, *Les églises autonomes et autocéphales*, p. 176 f., ap. *Rev. des quest. hist.*, July 1895.

¹ *De bello Persico*, i. c. 12, p. 57, ed. Bonn, "τὰ νόμιμα τῆς δόξης φυλάσσουσι," etc.

² Epp. ii. 9 (52), xi. 12. In connection with these letters, see Tamarati, p. 244 ff. The Georgians followed the Greek rite, but used their own language in the celebration of it. The prayers in their liturgy show their love for St. Peter and his successors. *Ib.*, p. 144 f.

patriarchs of Constantinople or Antioch¹ that it should, or because such was the wish of its people, but because intercourse between the two was cut by the sword of the Moslem.

The Crusades, however, brought travellers from the West among them, either in their native land or in their famous monastery of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem, known as "At the Trunk" or "At the Stock."² They reported not merely that the Georgian women were as brave and warlike as the men, that their laymen wore a square tonsure, and their clerics a round one, and that the latter were distinguished from the former by a white linen cloth which they wrapped round their neck and shoulders,³ but that the people declared themselves "subject to the Church of Rome," and their prelates that "they would most willingly belong to the Church of Rome."⁴

The Crusades and Georgia.

¹ Vincent of Beauvais notes that the Georgians, who had eighteen bishoprics and archbishoprics, were at first dependent on the patriarch of Antioch, and that, in consequence of the Turkish successes, their communication with that patriarch was cut off, and they had to communicate with the patriarch of Constantinople. *Spec. Hist.*, xxx. cc. 95-6.

² "Ad Truncum sive Stipitem." It was so called because it was supposed to be founded on the spot where grew one of the trees from which part of the wood of the Cross was taken. "Après d'ilueques, à une lieue [or mille according to another reading] avoit une abeie de Jorjans [Géorgiens], là où on dist que l'une des precès fu cuellie de le vraie crois," writes Ernoul, *Chron.*, c. 17, p. 203 f., ed. Mas Latrie. Cf. an anonymous twelfth-century pilgrim, ap. *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. vi. p. 11.; and see also pp. 4, 7, 16 of John Poloner's *Description of the Holy Land*, c. 1421.

³ Cf. Jacques de Vitry, *Hist.*, i. c. 79, and l. iii, after the description of the fall of Damietta; Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, xxx. c. 93; Burchard of Mount Sion, c. 13, p. 109, ap. *P. P. T. S.*, xii.; and Brother Felix Faber (1484), c. 8, ap. *ib.*, x. p. 389.

⁴ Burchard, c. 3, p. 26, and c. 13, p. 102. Sahensa, "once the most powerful Curgian [Georgian] prince, but now subject to the Tartars," assured the Franciscan missionary-traveller, William of Rubruck (de Rubruquis), that his people "were sons of the Roman Church, and if the lord Pope would send them some assistance they would themselves subject all the neighbouring countries to the Church." Cf. *The Journey of William of Rubruck in 1252-3*, pp. 271-2, translated and edited from

The letter
of Innocent
III.

One of the results of the onslaught of the Crusaders on the Moslem power in the East had been a striking revival of Georgian independence under David II., the Renewer or the Restorer (1089-1125), a scion of that remarkably long-lived dynasty, the Bagratidæ.¹ This, perhaps the most prosperous period in the history of Georgia, thus happily inaugurated by the great Restorer, lasted for over a hundred years, and reached its climax during the reign of that valiant woman the beautiful Queen Tamar (1184-1212). It was to this distinguished sovereign, whose deeds won for her the praises of her contemporary, the greatest of Georgia's poets, Chota Rustaveli, that Innocent III. despatched a letter (June 7) in 1211. It was addressed "to the illustrious *king* of Avognia (Georgia)," ² and was an exhortation to him to march to the succour of the Holy Land. After pointing out that our Lord's dying for our salvation ought to make

the *complete* text of W. of R., by W. W. Rockhill, London, 1900. The Hakluyt-Beazley text (and version) is an incomplete one. See also Alberic Trium Font., *Chron.*, an. 1221, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. p. 911, who speaks of "Avigniam, terram Georgianorum qui sunt viri catholici et potentes in armis."

¹ Cf. Tamarati, pp. 71, 472; and O. Wardrop, *The Kingdom of Georgia*, p. 113 f., London, 1888.

² "Li tiere (*i.e.*, des Jorjans) dont il sont a à non *Avegie*, et si a roy et roine dont aucunes gens apelent cele tiere de Femenie. Pour çou l'apelent de Femenie que li roine cevance et tient ost de ses femmes, ausi bien comme li rois fait de ses hommes." Ernoul, *Chron.*, c. 17, p. 205. It may be noted that the name Avegie is really Abasia or western Georgia. It is not clear whether Innocent is addressing the husband of Tamar or the queen herself, for it is said that her exploits caused her to be saluted as *Mephe*, king. See Archdeacon Dowling, *Sketches of Georgian Church Hist.*, p. 103, London, 1912. Unfortunately, this latest contribution in English to Georgian history is for the most part only a confused conglomeration of second-hand notes. A little original research would have made the book more valuable, and have saved its author from copying cant phrases of the Russian schismatic Joselian; *e.g.*, "the arrogant intentions of Rome," Joselian, *A Short Hist. of the Georgian Church*, p. 130; Dowling, p. 108; and on the same pages in both authors: "the usual crafty diplomacy of Rome."

Christians wishful to defend the place where He expired, he urged that Christian princes ought to be the more anxious to defend it, the more they see "the enemies of the Christian faith" wishful to crush it. "Since, then, following in the footsteps of your predecessors, you are zealous in your opposition to the perfidious occupants of the patrimony of Jesus Christ, we heartily praise this your earnestness. But at the same time we exhort your Highness, for the remission of your own sins and of those of your people, to carry out the designs with which God has inspired you, so that the perfidy of the pagans may be crushed, and your temporal toil may be replaced by eternal rest."¹

What precise part was taken by the Georgians in the Crusades is not clear; but it seems that they assisted the Western Crusaders rather by the wars they waged against the Turks on their own account than by actually fighting in their ranks.² At any rate, they were soon struggling with the overwhelming hordes of the Mongols for their very existence, and, in turn, appealing to the Popes to help them.

The great Queen Thamar was succeeded by her son, Giorgi Lasha, who, after severe fighting with the Mongols of Chingiz Khan, died in 1223, and left a troubled inheritance to his sister Rusudan († 1243), as famous for her beauty as was her mother Thamar.³ She at once wrote "to the most holy Pope, the Father and Lord of all Christians," and said that, "to him who holds the See of Blessed Peter, Rusudan, the lowly queen of Avognia (Anegnia, Avognia), his devoted handmaid and daughter, with head

Queen
Rusudan
and Rome.

¹ Ep. xiv. 68, June 7, 1211.

² Cf. Tamarati, p. 71 f. In 1221 Honorius III. wrote: "Populus . . . Georgianus in armis strenuus, in fide catholicus, contra Saracenos sibi vicinos guerram movit." Cited in the *Annals of Dunstable*, p. 67 ap. *Annal. Monast.*, iii. R. S.

³ As so little about Georgia is to be found in any English work, we shall add a little to what strictly concerns Innocent III. Practically nothing is said of Georgian intercourse with Rome in any English work.

bowed to his feet, sends greeting." Begging the Pope to show himself "sweet to her, and to interest himself in her welfare," she informed him of the death of her brother, and asked his blessing for herself and her Christian subjects. She assured the Pope that her brother was preparing to carry out his wishes, made known to him by the papal legate at Damietta, and to march to the help of the Christians when the Tartars invaded Georgia. At first they had taken the Georgians by surprise, as the latter had supposed the invaders to be Christians. The necessity of driving out these "bad Christians" had been the cause why the Georgians had not obeyed the behest of the legate. Now, however, she continued, that she is free, she will send her Constable John and her whole army to join the emperor (who she is delighted to learn is about to embark for the Holy Land), if only the Pope will let her know whither they must be sent.¹ The Constable himself wrote to the same effect, promised to march with forty thousand men, begged the Pope's blessing, and concluded by saying that his nephew, "Sanxa by name," the lord of fifteen great provinces, also humbly asked the Pope's blessing.² In his reply to the queen (May 12, 1224), Honorius praised her devotion to the Roman Church, and the faith of her people, which was the more remarkable in that it shone forth in the midst of pagan darkness. He told her to get ready her troops, as the Emperor Frederick would be sailing on the feast of St. John the Baptist; granted to all who took part in the Holy War "the full pardon of their sins which they had confessed and were sorry for"; asked the queen to have his letters read to her people, and finished by grant-

¹ The full text of this letter is to be found ap. Raynaldus, *Annal. Eccles.*, an. 1224, nn. 17 and 18, pp. 483-4, ed. Paris, 1887. A full French translation is given by Tamarati, p. 416.

² Ap. Raynald., nn. 19 and 20, p. 484, and Tamarati, p. 417. I presume this "Sanxa" is the "Sahensa" of a preceding note on p. 75.

ing the blessing which had been sought.¹ But Frederick could not or would not keep his promises at the time, and before the help of the Georgians was again needed they had themselves been overwhelmed by the terrible Mongols, and had to ask for help from the Popes. Meanwhile, Gregory IX. utilised the friendship of the queen by begging her to help the Franciscans whom he was sending to the neighbouring nations "who knew not God" (April 11, 1233).²

About the year 1236 the Mongols again invaded Georgia, and in her distress Rusudan turned to the Pope, and, no doubt with a view of interesting him still more in her affairs, proposed a formal reunion with the Church of Rome. This we know from a long letter which Gregory addressed (January 13, 1240) "to Rusudan and her son David, the illustrious queen and king of the Georgians." Expressing his pleasure at their assurance that the faith of their Church had ever remained firm and without blemish,³ he averred that what they had told him of the dread doings of the Tartars had lessened his joy, which, however, had been again increased by what he had since learnt of their subsequent defeat. He, however, he continued, stood in turn in need of their sympathy. The enemies of the faith—the Saracens in Syria and in Spain, and apostates from the faith in other parts—were causing him such trouble that he could not have sent any help to

The Mongols overwhelm Georgia.

¹ "Plenam peccatorum suorum, de quibus vere contriti fuerint et confessi, veniam dono Apostolicæ indulgentiæ consequuntur." Ep. viii. 211, ap. Horoy, iv. p. 628.

² Tamarati, p. 426, quotes this letter in full from the Vatican MS. It is analysed only, ap. Auvray, *Reg. Greg. IX.*, i. p. 692. Gregory IX. wished to submit the Georgians to the patriarch of Antioch, as they had been centuries before. See his *Register*, vol. ii. p. 1098, and vol. iii. p. 161, ed. Auvray.

³ "Gaudemus . . . quod in partibus vestris fides, ut scribitis, a tempore nascentis Ecclesiæ firma et sine ruga permansit." Ep. n. 5022, ap. Auvray, *Reg. Greg.*, iii. p. 162. Tamarati, p. 427 ff., gives a full translation of this document.

Georgia even if its distance from him were not such as almost to prevent the news of their struggles from reaching him. As to your request for union with us, we are the more pleased with it that anything which may be wanting in what is necessary for your salvation and our joy may be completed by this union.¹ In fine, he would have the Georgian sovereigns receive with good-will the eight Friars Preachers whom he is sending to them.

Continual
wars pre-
vent formal
reunion
with Rome.

War, however, which had caused the Georgians to drift away from communion with Rome, also kept them away from Rome. The ravages of one Moslem horde after another ever prevented the consummation of that union which was desired by the Georgians almost as much as by Rome. But age after age was the desire for union repeated both by the Georgian rulers and by the Popes, especially when the former enjoyed a measure of peace; and all the correspondence between Georgia and Rome shows that the Popes regarded the Georgians as Catholics, at heart at least, and that the Georgian sovereigns regarded the Popes as their spiritual rulers. When sending missionaries among the Tartars, Innocent IV. appealed to the prelates of Georgia to help them;² and Nicholas IV. urged King Demetrius to continue his efforts for reunion.³

¹ "Super eo vero, quod domum vestram nostre uniri postulatis, . . . tanto digniori in Domino laude magnitudinem vestram efferimus, quanto istud, si quid forsan ad perfectionem salutis vestræ hactenus omissum extitit, salutem ipsam et nostrum de vobis gaudium . . . fortius adimplebit." *Reg., ib.*, p. 163.

² *Reg. Inn. IV.*, n. 7781, February 26, 1254, vol. iii. p. 463, ed. Berger. The Dominicans in Georgia did splendid work, as we learn from a letter (an. 1256) of their "general" Humbert, ap. Denifle, *Chart. Univer. Paris.*, i. 318. Cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, xxxi. c. 42.

³ "Celsitudinem tuam hortamur . . . ad proseguendam ipsius Ecclesiæ unionem." Ep. of July 11, 1289, ap. Tamarati in full, p. 431. A similar letter was sent to David, king of Iberia; for at this period Georgia was divided. In Langlois, *Reg. Nich. IV.*, i. p. 393, these letters are only just mentioned. See a corresponding letter to the Georgian patriarch Abraham, ap. T., p. 432, and L., i. 391.

Then, after a sad period of Tartar ravages, when the country revived by the efforts of King George V., the Brilliant (1318-1346), the Popes again turned their attention to that long-suffering land, and John XXII. sent to George several letters concerning union which must have been favourably received, as a bishopric dependent on Rome was founded at Tiflis, the Georgian capital, in 1329.¹

But still worse times were in store for Georgia. Between the Tartars, the Turks, and the Persians that unhappy country had no peace. It became so weak that it could not keep itself together, and internal dissensions added to the misery of the land. Still, in the midst of all their troubles, the tradition of attachment to Rome lived on. In 1457, Calixtus III. could praise the devotion of the Georgians to the Apostolic See, and he listened to Georgian envoys declaring that "they venerated him as the Vicar of Christ, and knew that they must obey him."² In the fifteenth century the Catholic bishopric of Tiflis was stifled by the endless wars, and for some time after the year 1500 no travellers even seem to have found their way into Georgia. Yet from out the gloom which oppressed the land, we hear the voices of kings and people pathetically hailing the Pope as "the new Peter, the judge and key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven, the new Paul,"³ and receiving with extraordinary veneration priests from Rome.⁴ We see, too, the dim outlines of the

Later his-
tory of
Georgia.

¹ See the documents at large in Tamarati, p. 438 ff., taken from the Registers of John XXII. now in course of publication.

² Documents, *ib.*, p. 453 ff.

³ The letter of King Simon I. to Paul III., ap. T., p. 468 ff. Cf. the letter of King Teimouraz to Urban VIII., ap. *ib.*, p. 503 ff.

⁴ Cf. various seventeenth-century reports forwarded by missionaries to Rome, ap. *ib.*, p. 495 ff. It is a noteworthy fact that the spiritual needs of Georgia begot the famous international College of the Propaganda (1641). *ib.*, 525 f.

famous Princess Helen Atabeg ; of the Princes Bagrat and Dadian ; of the *Catholicus* Malachy, and of Archbishop Alaverdéli, who gave in their submission to the "new Peter."¹

Then in the middle of the seventeenth century the Theatines, under whom the conversions just mentioned had taken place, were succeeded by the Capuchins, and again kings, princes, and bishops of Georgia returned to the Catholic faith.² But, as we have seen, the stress of war forced the Georgians to confide in Russia, with the result that the Czar expelled the Capuchins in 1845, and has since made every effort to force the Catholic Georgians to submit to his Church. The efforts of the Russian Government, however, have been as powerless with the Catholic Georgians as with the Poles, and to-day "the wall of brass which Russia has kept between . . . the Catholic world and Georgia is beginning to crumble,"³ and some forty thousand Georgians are in communion with that Church of Rome for which so many of their ancestors suffered so much.

AFRICA.

Innocent
corre-
sponds
with the
sultan of
Morocco.

Passing over Innocent's relations with other non-European countries, for instance with Aleppo, because they have already been noted,⁴ we may, in order with the Pope himself not to neglect any of the then known quarters of the world, direct our attention to Africa.

When Innocent took his place among the successors of St. Peter, Moorish Africa was under the sway of one of the greater princes of the now decaying dynasty of the Almohades (1149-1235), Abou-Yousouf-Yacoub El-

¹ Tamarati, p. 534 ff.

² *Ib.*, c. xvi.

³ *Ib.*, p. 677. What is said in Fortescue's *The Orthodox Greek Church*, pp. 304-5, must be supplemented by Tamarati. See also *Documents relatifs aux églises de l'Orient*, by A. d'Avril, Paris, 1885.

⁴ *Supra*, vol. xi. pp. 229, 232.

Manzor (or Almanzor), 1184-1199, who had gained some important victories over the Christians in the Spanish peninsula, particularly that of Alarcos (1195),¹ and had brought back with him to Africa thousands of Christian captives. To this Berber prince Innocent despatched the following letter in the second year of his pontificate (March 8, 1199). It was addressed "to the illustrious Miramolinus,² king of Morocco, and to his subjects in the hope that they may arrive at the knowledge of the truth, and to their profit remain therein." "Among the works of mercy," wrote the Pope, "which Jesus Christ our Lord in the gospel commended to His faithful, that of the redemption of captives holds not the least place. Hence to those who are engaged in this work we owe the apostolic favour. Now quite recently certain men (among whom the bearers of these presents are to be reckoned), inspired by God, have devised a rule of life (*regulam et ordinem*), by the constitutions of which a third part of the revenues which they now have or may hereafter acquire must be spent in the redemption of captives. Moreover, since it is often easier to redeem captives by exchange than by money, they have been permitted, in order that they may be the better able to carry out their designs, to purchase from Christians pagan captives whom they may offer in exchange for Christian prisoners. Since, then, work of this kind is for the mutual benefit of Christians and pagans, we thought it right to bring it to your notice by our apostolic letters. May He who is the way, the truth, and the life inspire you to know the truth, which is Christ, and to embrace it without delay."³

¹ Cf. Rosseeuw St.-Hilaire, *Hist. d'Espagne*, iv. p. 24 ff., Paris, 1844.

² *I.e.*, Emir al-moumenin, the title of the Sultan. It means "the commander of the faithful," and is almost the only designation under which Moslem potentates are referred to by the European writers of this age.

³ ii. 9. "Given at the Lateran, on the eighth of the Ides of March, in the *second* year of our pontificate." We have translated this letter in

The result of the Pope's letter was satisfactory, and the members of the Order for the Redemption of Captives, to whom Innocent here alludes, were well received by Almanzor, as were later on the Franciscans and Dominicans by his sons.¹

Nicholas I.,
patriarch
of Alex-
andria.

As far, however, as Moorish Africa was concerned, it would seem, to judge from Innocent's letters, that at length the ancient African Church was dead. The once bright flame of the Church in Africa was burning but low even in the days of Gregory VII., when but two or three bishops represented the six hundred who governed the African Church before the coming of the Vandals. After his time we have watched it gradually dying out. The Christians in Africa for whom Innocent exerted himself were but captives. A native organised Christian Church had ceased to exist in what was once Roman Africa. But in the continent of Africa the faith was not wholly extinguished. The most important part of the Dark Continent has ever been the land of the Nile, and in that land an organised Christian Church still maintained a feeble existence.

During the pontificate of Innocent III. the Ayyubid

its entirety to enable our readers to judge whether it is "a very impolitic letter" and whether in it "with a most arrogant air of superiority the Pontiff pities the benighted condition of the Moors," etc. Yet such is what Mr. L. R. Holme has to say about it towards the close of his book (p. 239) on *The Extinction of the Christian Churches in Africa*. It is a pity that he did not follow the commentary of Mas Latrie, from whom he took the letter. That author sees in it indeed "un sentiment de supériorité," but also "de compassion" and "non de la hauteur." Innocent used the word "paganus" as a convenient contrast to "fidelis"; and, as Mas Latrie notes, p. 71, the word would probably have been so translated into Arabic as not to hurt the Sultan's feelings. *Traité de paix avec l'Afrique*, Paris, 1866.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 71. Cf. *Regest. Honorii III.*, n. 5865, March 17, 1226. On the Order of the Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives, see ep. Inn. III., i. 481, December 17, 1198; and Hurter, *Tableau des Institutions au Moyen Age*, ii. p. 482 ff.

dynasty (1169-1252) held sway over Egypt; and during the greater part of his reign that country was ruled by El-'Ādil Seyf-ed-dīn (the Saphadin of the Latin historians), the brother of Saladin (1200-1218). Although "the relations of the Ayyubids with their Christian subjects grew more friendly as time went on," Saphadin followed the example of Saladin and was "severe and exacting"¹ in their regard. Besides having to suffer from the oppression of their civil rulers, the unhappy Christians, in common with the other inhabitants of Egypt, had, in the early portion of Saphadin's reign, to endure the famine and its attendant miseries caused by two successive failures in the overflow of the Nile.

The sufferings of the Church of Alexandria did not escape the notice of Innocent, and a regular correspondence on the subject was kept up between the Pope and Nicholas I., the Greek patriarch of Alexandria. It would appear that Nicholas must have acknowledged Innocent's supremacy, for in that Pope's first letter to him (of which only a fragment remains), he bade him persevere in the Catholic faith, and do his best to advance it by prayer and the example of a good life.²

A few years later the patriarch, in the midst of his troubles, wrote to the great Pope for sympathy. In his reply Innocent praised him "for giving forth the sweet odour of devotion like a lily among thorns in the midst of an evil and perverse nation," and for seeking consolation both for himself and for the Christian captives from the bosom of the holy Roman Church. He reminded him that the trials of this life were as nothing in comparison with the reward they would win in the next, and that God would not allow him to be tried beyond his strength.³

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *A Hist. of Egypt*, p. 241.

² Potthast, n. 1430, possibly July 1201.

³ Ep. xii. 12, March 23, 1209.

Again a year or two later came more praise for the patriarch. Innocent congratulated him on the work he was doing for the redemption of captives,¹ and assured him that he would secure for him the co-operation of the military orders, of the kings and princes "of the Oriental province," and of the patriarch of Jerusalem. At the same time he exhorted him to strive to induce some of the Christian captives to amend their lives, because they commit sins "which not only offend the divine Majesty, but lower the Christian religion in the eyes of the infidel." He concluded his letter thus: "Moreover, as you have informed us, the aforesaid captives have only an old priest to minister to their spiritual needs. Hence have they respectfully begged Your Fraternity to ordain one of their number, who is learned in ecclesiastical matters, a deacon. This you said you were unwilling to do without our permission." This permission we freely accord.²

The deference displayed by Nicholas towards the Pope lasted throughout the whole of his pontificate, and, when he was summoned to the Lateran Council, though he could not go himself, he sent a deacon, named Germanus, as his representative.³

¹ "Sicut ex litteris tuis . . . accepimus." Ep. xiv. 146, January 18, 1212.

² *Ib.* Cf. xiv. 147-8; and J. M. Neale, *The Patriarchate of Alexandria*, ii. 278 ff.

³ Ep. xvi. 34, April 1213, wherein he notes the patriarch's devotion to the Roman Church, and "to our person."

BOOK IV.

THE WEST AND NORTH OF EUROPE. FRANCE, THE BRITISH ISLES, SPAIN, SCANDINAVIA, AND LIVONIA.

Sources.—Most of the historians who treat of the reign of Philip Augustus (1180–1223) have already been discussed. Here we will merely note that the letters which bear on his reign may be found in Bouquet, *Recueil des Hist. de la France (R. F. SS.)*, vol. xix., Paris, 1833; and extracts from all the more important French historians of this period in vol. xxvi. of the *Mon. Germ. Hist.* Attention may also be called to L. Delisle's *Catalogue des Actes de Philippe-Auguste*, Paris, 1856.

Modern Works.—Luchaire, *Innocent III.*, vol. v., *Les royautés vassales du Saint-Siège*, Paris, 1908; and *Louis VII., Philippe-Auguste et Louis VIII.*, in *L'Hist. de France*, t. iii., pt. i., Paris, 1901, by E. Lavisse and others; *Philip Augustus*, by W. H. Hutton, London, 1896, in the Foreign Statesmen Series; Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII.*, Paris, 1894; Miss Kate Norgate, *John Lackland*, London, 1902, written with her usual painstaking care and interest; P. Fournier, *Les Conflits de juridiction entre l'Église et le pouvoir séculier de 1180 à 1328*, ap. *Revue des quest. hist.*, April 1880, p. 432 ff.



Leaden Bulla of Innocent III.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE.

Innocent's
first letters
regarding
Philip.

AMONG the very first letters written by Innocent after he became Pope was one to Philip of France. In it he informed the king of his election, and then added that he had thought it fitting that "the first-fruits of his letters" should be addressed to the king of the Franks, because France had ever "stood firm in the unity of the Church," and because its king "was a special son of the Roman Church." He concluded his short letter by exhorting the king so to revere his mother the holy Roman Church as to follow the footsteps of his father in loyalty to it, and, "as became a Christian prince," sincerely to assist him who had been called to the work of ruling the Apostolic See.¹

The ques-
tion of
Philip's
divorce.

About the same time that this letter was despatched, Innocent sent another to the bishop of Paris, treating of what proved to be the most important of the relations between himself and the French king. After pointing out that God made man and wife for the propagation of the human race, and that our Lord had forbidden any man to put asunder what God had joined together, he expressed his profound sorrow that King Philip had put away his lawful wife, and taken another. He accordingly urged the bishop, whose learning, character, and kinship would naturally give him influence with Philip, to exhort him, in the Pope's name, to restore the queen to her rights. He

¹ Ep. i. 2, January 1198. In the following letter he asks the prayers of the bishops of France.

was to point out to him that, if anything happened to his only legitimate son, his kingdom would pass to strangers, should he not take back his wife ; and he was to hint that, disagreeable as it would be to Innocent, he could not allow the affair to pass in silence. He was determined not to let the matter rest as Celestine had done.¹ To understand the import of this letter we must now recall what it was exactly that Celestine had done.

Philip's first wife, Isabel of Flanders,² died in March 1190 ; and, on his return from the Crusade, the grasping monarch thought to strengthen his hand by marrying the sister of Canute VI., king of Denmark, the young Princess Ingeborg, described as "beautiful in face, but even more beautiful in soul" (August 14, 1193).³ For some unexplained reason, however, he repudiated her the very next day after the marriage, and had no difficulty in inducing a number of servile bishops to declare the marriage void on account of some distant relationship.⁴

Philip marries and divorces Ingeborg of Denmark, 1193.

"Various causes," says one of our historians, "are assigned for this disgraceful levity" ;⁵ but whatever was

¹ i. 4.

² Philip, so it is said, even wanted to divorce her. *Sigebert. Contin. Acquicinct.*, an. 1184, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160, p. 321.

³ Innocent more than once declares that Philip could not get a more noble or more virtuous wife : "Cum nec honestiorem nec nobiliorem sibi possit hoc tempore copulare, utpote quæ ab omnibus non tantum honesta dicitur sed et sancta." *Ep.* iii. 16. *Cf.* 18.

⁴ Roger of Hoveden, an. 1193, iii. 224 f. Rigord, *Gesta Philip.*, c. 92. According to Will. of Newburgh, iv. 26, Philip had obtained the commission of bishops to judge his case from the Pope, by stating that through inadvertence he had married a near relation. But from a letter of Celestine (ep. 212) it is clear that the Apostolic See was not approached in the first instance.

⁵ William of N., iv. 26. He enumerates some of the alleged causes (which we need not here repeat), but adds : "surely such causes are inadequate to break the bonds of Christian marriage." According to Rigord, c. 92, sorcery was the cause of the king's dislike : "Rex, quibusdam, *ut dicitur*, maleficiis per sorciarias impeditus, uxorem . . . exosam habere cepit."

the true cause (and it appears to have been a cause similar to that which makes some "mad if they behold a cat"), feminine opinion was not slow to condemn Philip. Accordingly, when he approached the daughter of the count palatine of the Rhine and asked for her hand, he was met by a curt refusal. She had no wish, she said, to experience the fate of Ingeborg.¹ Many other noble ladies, we are assured, followed her example.² Adverse feminine opinion, however, was not the only force which was soon arrayed against Philip. Both Ingeborg and her brother appealed to Rome, and easily proved that the alleged relationship was extremely remote.³

The unhappy lady herself, ignorant of French, but crying out in Latin: "Wicked France! Rome! Rome!" wrote a short but feeling letter to Pope Celestine. All believe, she said, that the successor of the Prince of the Apostles has the supreme power in the Church, and that recourse is had to him all the more readily, as it is known that so many have been saved by his assistance. "I, then, taken from my father's home, brought into the realm of the Franks, and, by the will of heaven, raised to the royal throne, through the wickedness of the enemy of the human race, envious of my happiness, have been thrown on the ground like a dry and useless branch, destitute of all comfort and advice. My spouse, Philip, king of the Franks, has left me, though he could find nothing to condemn in me, except what malice had forged on the anvil of lies. . . . In my wretchedness I fly to the seat of mercy, so that, having won your pity,

¹ Will., iv. c. 32; Hoveden, *l.c.*

² W. of N., v. 16.

³ *Ib.*, Hoveden, an. 1195, iii. 306-7. These two historians are both wrong in saying that the fear or gold of the French king prevented Celestine from interfering in behalf of Ingeborg. According to Hutton, *Philip Aug.*, p. 163, "Philip I., the great-grandfather of the bridegroom, was brother to a Danish princess, ancestress of Ingeborg. She was akin, too, to Philip's first wife in at least two ways."

should better fortune befall me, I would henceforth be your handmaid, ever ready to obey your commands."¹

Celestine was perhaps a little slow in acting; but, finding that Philip took no notice of his first letters and legate, he at length formally notified the archbishops of Sens and Rheims, as well as Philip himself, that he had definitely annulled the decision of the bishops in favour of the divorce (May 13, 1195). At the same time he earnestly exhorted Philip to take Ingeborg back, and to treat her affectionately; and he commanded the archbishops to forbid Philip to marry again as long as Ingeborg was alive. Especially did he express his indignation that the bishops had decided the case against her, "seeing that she was undefended" and ignorant of French.²

Philip was, however, deaf to honour and conscience, and at length found a woman willing to become his wife, "if indeed," says William of Newburgh, "she may be called his wife, who appears rather to have been his concubine" (June 1196).³ The woman was Agnes de Meran, the daughter of Berthold V., duke of Merania and Dalmatia. Again did a cry of agony from the outraged Ingeborg go up to the Pope.⁴ She tells him how

Philip attempts marriage with Agnes of Meran, 1196.

¹ See this simple and touching letter of Ingeborg to the Pope, ap. Bouquet, *R. F. SS.*, xix. p. 314. "Mala Francia! Roma! Roma!" was all that she could say. *Gesta Innocent III.*, c. 49.

² Epp. 212-14. In ep. 212 the Pope declared that before he was Pope he had done much in the interests of France. In the same letter: "Nichil debuit contra ipsam indefensam et ignorantem quid penitus ageretur, utpote linguam Francorum ignaram, tam inordinabiliter a quolibet attemptari." He also declares that he had received a genealogical table from the archbishop of Lund and his suffragans setting forth the relatives of Ingeborg.

³ v. 16.

⁴ See two of her letters, ap. Bouquet, *R. F. SS.*, xix. pp. 320-1. Some modern authors seem to doubt whether her marriage with Philip was ever consummated. They cannot be aware of the words of Ingeborg: "Me desponsavit, et mihi, prout naturalis ordo requirit, debitum red-

Philip married her, but, "seduced by the devil and the advice of some wicked nobles," repudiated her; and then how, giving up any pretence of relationship or any other excuse, married again, and put her in prison. She grieves not only for herself, but for the king also, who has given so bad an example to the world. If the Apostolic See help her not she will die.¹ Her brother at the same time called upon Celestine to lay France under an interdict.²

Up to the time of Philip's attempted marriage with Agnes de Meran, Celestine acted vigorously in behalf of Ingeborg.³ But after that he did nothing for her; and, "not without much scandal," says the author of his successor's biography,⁴ appeared to acquiesce in the situation. It must not, however, be forgotten that when Philip married Agnes, Henry VI. entered Italy, and it may well be that a Pope of nearly ninety years of age felt incapable of struggling against the emperor and the powerful king of France at the same time.

Innocent
takes up
the cause of
Ingeborg.

When Innocent, as we have seen, took up the cause of the injured queen, the political situation was as much in his favour as was his own age. The kingdom of Sicily was in the hands of his own ward, and the rivalry of Otho and Philip prevented either of them from being a

didit maritale." Ep. p. 320. It is true that at first at least Philip denied this. Cf. *Gesta Inn. III.*, c. 48; and especially Epp. Inn., xi. 182; xv. 106.

¹ "Nisi vestra misericordia mihi misereri dignetur, morti succumbam in proximo temporali." Ep. p. 320, *R. F. SS.*, xix. "Quid sit illud [her one source of consolation in the midst of her misery] si quaeritur, nil in responsis habeo præter hoc quod dictura sum, sedis apostolicæ clementia." Ep. p. 321.

² Ep. ap. *ib.*, p. 320. See also his letter to the cardinals. *ib.*, p. 321, an. 1196.

³ See also the letter of Andrew, chancellor of Denmark, ap. *ib.*, p. 319.

⁴ *Gesta Inn. III.*, c. 50.

menace to him. His natural zeal for justice was, moreover, quickened by a fresh appeal from King Canute in his sister's behalf (1198),¹ and he followed up the letters we have already quoted with a strong one to Philip himself (May 17). He tells the king that God has made him Pope to judge not only along with the princes of the earth, but also, if need be, these very princes themselves. He then assures Philip that, owing to the immense literary benefits that France has bestowed upon him, and to the unvarying devotion of the kings of the Franks to the Roman Church, he feels that he is specially bound to him and to his kingdom. Then, after dwelling on the scandal which his divorce has caused, and on the wrong he has done the Church of Rome by flouting the mandates of Pope Celestine, and after reminding him that if an impediment of affinity could be alleged against Ingeborg, an impediment of consanguinity could be urged against the *intruder*,² he begged him to consult his honour and his eternal salvation, and to take back his wife. At the same time he impressed upon the king that, if he did not obey his injunctions, he would be all the more severe with him as he loved him the more, and that from no consideration of love or money would he move from the path of rectitude.³ "However much," he said in conclusion, "you may trust in your power, you cannot hold your ground against, I will not say my face, but against the face of God, whose place we, though unworthy, hold on earth."

As this noble letter made no impression on the in-

A papal
legate sent
into France,
1198.

¹ Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.*, an. 1199, iv. 85, R. S.

² The Pope always speaks of Agnes as the *superinducta* (intruder), whereas our historians invariably denominate her simply as the *adulteress*.

³ "Cum inspirante Domino immutabilem animum et inflexible propositum habeamus nec prece, nec pretio, nec amore, nec odio declinandi a semita rectitudinis." Ep. i. 171.

fatuated monarch, a cardinal legate, Peter of Capua, of the title of S. Maria in Via Lata, was sent into France to endeavour to make peace between it and England, and to place France under an interdict if Philip should persist in his unworthy conduct for one month after the legate's final warning (September 1198).¹

On December 5, 1199, as Philip took no heed of the legate's exhortations, Peter held a council at Dijon, and, in accordance with his instructions, taking no notice of the king's appeal to Rome, placed France under an interdict, but delayed its publication for a few weeks.² Still was the heart of the king hardened, and on January 12, 1200, the legate solemnly renewed his sentence at a council at Vienne.³

Philip consents to take back his lawful wife, 1200.

Furious because his bishops, one after the other, obeying the commands of the Pope,⁴ carried out the provisions of the interdict, Philip began a bitter persecution of the Church in his dominions.⁵ This conduct caused Innocent

¹ Roger of H., *ib.*, and Innocent's instructions to Peter, ep. i. 347 : "totam terram ejus *appellatione postposita* subicias interdicto." Cf. i. 348, one more letter to Philip on the same matter.

² Ralph de Diceto, *Ymag. hist.*, an. 1199, ii. 167 f., R. S. ; Rigord, n. 131, i. p. 147 ; William de Nangis, an. 1199, i. p. 112.

³ *Gesta Inn.*, c. 51. The form made use of by the legate in publishing this interdict is given in Migne's ed. of the *Gesta*, P. L., t. 214, p. xcvi. The churches were only to be opened for baptisms, and for a private Mass once a week, in order that there might be Hosts where-with Holy Viaticum could be given to the sick. Confessions were to be heard in the portico of the church. Women were not to be *churched*, nor were the dead to be buried in the cemeteries. Sermons were to be preached outside the church. Cf. also Roger of H., an. 1200, iv. p. 112 ; *Sigebert. Cont. Acq. incinct.*, an. 1200 ; Rigord, *ib.* Cf. ep. iii. 11., October 31, 1200, where Innocent tells Ingeborg of Philip's submission. Peter was at any rate successful in his efforts to bring about peace between France and England. Cf. *ep.* ii. 23-5.

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 52. Ep. ii. 197, October 14, 1199.

⁵ *Gesta*, c. 53 ; Rigord, *l.c.* Cf. ep. iii. 11. "Rex . . . læsum se reputans, in clericos et ecclesias manus suas duxerit aggravandas." See also iii. 13.

to change his policy. Feeling that the interdict was causing more suffering to the innocent than to the guilty, he began to speak of revoking the interdict, and of excommunicating Philip instead. "It is better," he is reported to have said, "that one should be punished, than that the whole nation should perish" (*cf.* St. John xi. 50).¹ This threat had its effect, and Philip's envoys once again appeared in Rome to offer terms on their master's behalf.² Accordingly, another legate, Cardinal Octavian, bishop of Ostia, a relative both of the Pope and of Philip, was sent into France, where he arrived in September (1200). He was received with the greatest enthusiasm by all classes,³ and at once set about his task with great tact.

At St. Leger-en-Iveline, between Paris and Étampes, the bishops of France met the new legate. Thither also came Philip and Ingeborg, "his queen, and the German adulteress; and the king of France, at the exhortation of the aforesaid cardinal, and at the advice of his nobles (*suorum*), put away his adulteress, and took back his queen Ingeborg (or Botilda, as Roger always calls her)." ⁴ This was "on the vigil of the Nativity of the Blessed Mother of God, the ever-virgin Mary (September 7)." ⁵

¹ Roger, *ib.*, p. 113.

² *Ib.*, and *Gesta*, c. 54.

³ "Feliciter itaque regnum ingressus et tanta devotione fidelium, tanta principum et magnatum congratulatione susceptus, ut generalis omnium exultatio divini favoris videretur interpret." *Cf.* the report of Odo, bishop of Paris, to Innocent, iii. 13, inter epp. Inn. *Cf.* iii. 14, and especially the legate's own report, iii. 15. Roger, an. 1200, p. 137; Rigord, n. 133, p. 149; *Gesta*, c. 54.

⁴ Roger, *ib.*, p. 138. *Cf.* Rigord, *l.c.*

⁵ Roger; Ep. iii. 11, to Ingeborg, where Innocent tells her that he has been officially informed that the king has complied with the papal mandate, "ita quod . . . superinducta remota, te velut uxorem suam et reginam Francorum receperit, et jurari fecerit in animam suam, quod . . . præter Ecclesiæ iudicium non dimittet." *Cf.* iii. 13, 14, 15. In the last letter the legate tells the Pope that Philip "received

He then
demands
a trial.

When the king had thus publicly acknowledged Ingeborg, the cardinal removed the interdict, with the result that "such joy filled the whole kingdom," wrote Octavian to the Pope, "as we can scarcely tell in a letter. All bless you and praise your mercy and your justice—your justice for your defence of the queen, and your mercy for the removal of the interdict."¹ "The Roman Church," cried the bishops of France, "is the city of our strength."²

But the legate could not persuade Philip to accept Ingeborg definitely as his wife. On the contrary, the king declared that "she was too closely allied with him by consanguinity, as he was prepared to prove, and he demanded that a divorce should be effected between them."³ The legate accordingly fixed Soissons as the place where the case was to be thoroughly investigated, and, in accordance with the orders of the Pope, he sent word to the queen's brother, Canute, king of Denmark, and to the archbishop of Lund, to come to defend the queen with all the necessary documents.⁴

Philip does
nothonour-
ably fulfil
his engage-
ments.

Meanwhile, however, Philip did not honourably fulfil his engagements. The queen complained that, so far from being treated as a queen, she was practically a prisoner at Étampes.⁵ Much distressed, Innocent im-

Ingeborg publicly." Philip himself also assured the Pope that, though much against his will (*per vim vestram . . . fecimus*), he had obeyed the Pope's orders. Ep. iii. 17.

¹ Ep. iii. 15. Cf. Roger, *l.c.*

² Ep. iii. 14.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Ep. iii. 15. Innocent himself also exhorted the king of Denmark to exert himself in his sister's behalf. Ep. iii. 12. Cf. iii. 11, of October 31, to the queen herself.

⁵ Cf. epp. iii. 11, 16, 18. That she was at Étampes before the Council of Soissons is clear, despite Géraud (note by Delaborde to his ed. of Rigord, i. 148), not only from Rigord, but from Octavian's despatch to Innocent, iii. 15. "Regina Stampis honorifice (?) commemoratur [*sic*, no doubt it should be *commoratur*]."

plored Philip to treat his "good and holy wife" affectionately ;¹ and he impressed on his legate that, "holding fast to justice and to truth, if need be even to the shedding of his blood, he would not, with the help of God, tolerate any underhand work in connection with the affair. . . . You doubtless remember," he continued, "how I told you myself that this affair would, if it were conscientiously conducted, bring great credit to the Apostolic See, but, if it were improperly treated, would redound to its greater confusion."²

However the unfortunate Ingeborg was treated in the meanwhile, she appeared, along with envoys from Denmark, before Octavian at Soissons in March. Before him also appeared Philip.

The
Council of
Soissons,
March-
May 1201.

The king no doubt came with a light heart. He had received a communication from one of his agents in Rome which led him to suppose that Innocent had at length come to view the case as he wished. The Pope, wrote the envoy, "advised that the king should bring forward both the pleas, viz., that of affinity and that of the physical repugnance (or sorcery, *causa maleficiæ*). If the queen should not choose to produce witnesses in the matter of the affinity, the Pope will be content ; but if she should choose to produce them, she cannot be denied her right. . . . With regard to the repugnance or bewitchment, the Pope is ready to grant this point to the king. If he is prepared to cause an oath to be taken on his soul that he attempted to consummate the marriage and could not, and that he has no other grave reason for hating the queen, then his word is to be accepted, unless

¹ Ep. iii. 18. Cf. iii. 16. The virtues of Ingeborg are asserted by nearly all the contemporary historians, even, adds Géraud, the editor of William of Nangis, i. 113 n., by those most interested in flattering Philip.

² iii. 16. Cf. iii. 18.

the queen should swear the opposite. Moreover," continued the royal agent, "the Pope believes she could easily be induced not to take such an oath. If, however, the king is afraid that sentence will be given against him on these points, the matter could be so arranged that sentence should not be pronounced; and then the king will be in the same condition as he is now. But there is one point on which the Pope will not make any concession. The king must make another effort to consummate the marriage, as such repugnances (or bewitchments, *maleficia*) are overcome by prayer."¹ But Philip's hopes were doomed to disappointment. The Danish envoys would not recognise Octavian as judge, declaring to the king: "We appeal to our lord the Pope from the judge here Octavian, who is suspected by us, inasmuch as he is your kinsman by blood, as he admits, and shows too great favour in your cause." Ingeborg also appealed to the Pope. Thereupon Octavian, who, to do him justice, had already, in conformity to Innocent's orders, requested to have John, cardinal-priest of St. Prisca, associated with him in the trial,² begged the envoys to await John's arrival and sentence. "They, however, took their departure, saying: 'We have appealed.' After three days, the other legate arrived³ . . . and, sitting in judgment, he found no cause why there should

¹ This document, ap. *R. F. SS.*, xix. p. 393 n., which is entitled: "Forma in qua consulit d. Papa de divortio celebrando," is not dated, and is assigned to different epochs in this protracted suit by different writers. To me it seems obviously to refer to a coming trial, viz., to that of Soissons. It should be compared with a later letter (ep. v. 49, July 5, 1202), having reference to the incomplete trial at Soissons. Delisle, *Catalogue*, p. 247, refers the *Forma* to 1207.

² See his letter to Innocent, iii. 15. Cf. *Gesta*, c. 54.

³ According to the Anchin continuator of Sigebert's *Chron.*, who calls John "a monk of our order," he did not arrive till May, and then the king vainly tried to bribe him, "set ille justus manus suas excussit ab ejus munere." *Contin. Acquicinct.*, an. 1201, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160.

be a divorce; . . . but when it was his intention to pronounce final sentence against the king of France, the king," continues Roger of Hoveden, whom we are quoting, "being forewarned thereof, departed before the sentence was pronounced, taking with him his wife,"¹ from whom, adds Rigord, he sent word to the judges to say that he would never separate. "Thus for this time Philip escaped out of the hands of the Romans."²

By this artifice, indeed, for it was nothing else, as it is plain that he never intended to accept Ingeborg, Philip gained more time. But he had really outwitted himself. Agnes of Merania, who had just given birth to a child, "filled with sorrowful anxiety at the rumours she heard that the king had abandoned her," died at Poissy, c. August (?) 1201.³ Philip's only thought now was to procure from Innocent the legitimation of the children he had had by her. To spare the guiltless, and to secure the good-will of the king towards his hapless wife, Innocent agreed. Accordingly, though by his charity he earned the ill-will of many,⁴ before the close of the year he issued letters acknowledging their legitimacy,

Death of
Agnes of
Merania.
Her
children
legitimat-
ised, 1201

¹ An. 1200, iv. 146 ff., R. S.

² An. 1201, n. 133, i. p. 149. Unfortunately, as Book iii. of Innocent's *Register* is incomplete, and Book iv. (1201) is entirely missing, these statements cannot be checked by the Pope's correspondence. However, as we have seen, Roger's information on this matter has hitherto been found quite trustworthy, and it can be partly checked by the version of the affair which Philip himself sent to the Pope, ap. Delisle, *Catal. des actes de Phil.*, p. 502 f. In this letter he pretends that the cardinals took the part of the queen, and asserts that he withdrew from the trial because he saw that the judges had no intention of terminating the case. He coolly proposes a new trial in which only his witnesses should be examined, on the ground that the queen had sent hers back to Denmark, and "non videtur nobis quod beneficium productionis eorum ei de cetero debeat indulgeri." Cf. *Gesta*, c. 55.

³ William of Nangis, an. 1201, i. p. 115. Cf. Rigord, n. 136; *Gesta*, c. 54.

⁴ "Quod factum eo tempore pluribus displicuit." Rigord, *l.c.* Cf. Nangis, *l.c.*

without thereby intending, as he specially stated, any prejudice to the case between Philip and Ingeborg.¹

The case
between
the years
1202-13.

But not even by this kindness on the Pope's part was the French king moved to restore her rights to his injured queen. Once more was she shut up at Étampes, and for years did her heartless husband employ every means in his power to try to procure from Innocent a sentence of divorce from her. In his untiring efforts many things favoured him. First there was his own skill in the arts of diplomacy; and then he knew that the Pope would sacrifice much to further either the cause of the Crusade, or that of his candidate for the Empire, Otho of Brunswick, or to secure the repression of the Albigensian heretics. At one time, indeed, he had sworn that, though he had often been urged to join a combination against the Pope,² he had refused to do so; still there is no doubt that, at any rate as time went on, he profited by every favourable turn of politics to put pressure upon the Pope. Knowledge of this line of action on the king's part had its effect upon Innocent. It rendered him cautious in the unceasing efforts which he made on Ingeborg's behalf; though it must be borne in mind that, since Philip was no longer living in adultery, the Pope was not in the same position to act as vigorously against him as he had been before. And yet, as his biographer assures us, "the Supreme Pontiff, although he could not induce the king to love the queen, never ceased, now by kind words and now by severe ones, to urge him to treat her like a queen, . . . and, though he very much displeased the

¹ Epp. of November 2, ap. Potthast, 1499, 1500. In the letter on the subject to the bishops of France printed in full ap. *P. L.*, t. 114, p. 1191 ff., Innocent speaks of Agnes as "recently dead" (*nuper defuncta*). He unfolds his reasons at length in ep. v. 128.

² "Adjuravimus . . . quod nunquam volumus confœderari alicui contra Ecclesiam Romanam, licet pluries fuerimus requisiti." Ep. of Philip to the Pope, inter epp. Inn., iii. 17. Cf. iii. 18.

king thereby, he never ceased to use every opportunity in the queen's interests."¹

Year after year the letters of the Pope continued knocking at the heart of the king, in the hope, as Innocent himself expressed it, that they would at length wear down his resistance, as water hollows out the stone, not by violence, but by constantly dropping upon it.² To all Philip's importunities and threats he replied that the queen must not in any trial be left undefended nor tried by judges who were not above suspicion, and that, anxious as he was to serve the king, he must not be asked to do anything which would involve a violation of justice, and which would bring infamy on both their souls.³ He moreover urged him, "as a powerful and prudent king who ought to have dominion over his soul, to compel himself to offer the affection of a husband to his wife Ingeborg, queen of the Franks."⁴ At the same time he asked him "whether the Apostolic See could possibly refrain from giving heed to the complaints of the oppressed, and especially to those of women, who on account of their weaker state ought to be the more protected by its justice."⁵

To the touching letters of Ingeborg begging him to help her, he assures her that he is doing all that man can do,⁶ and he sends her envoys to encourage her, and letters of consolation, urging her to be patient for her ultimate greater merit.⁷

¹ *Gesta*, c. 55. Cf. ep. v. 49.

² "Utinam labor improbus vinceret universa, et gutta lapidem non vised sæpe cadendo caveret, ut saltem propter improbitatem nostram te vinceres!" vi. 182, an. 1203.

³ "Regem ipsum moneas," he wrote to his legate, the archbishop of Rheims, ". . . ne illa requirat a nobis, quæ sine juris injuria et tam nostræ quam ipsius animæ detrimento et infamia, etiamsi vellemus, non possemus aliquatenus adimplere." v. 49, July 5, 1202.

⁴ Ep. xi. 181, December 7, 1208. Cf. v. 50, an. 1202.

⁵ v. 50.

⁶ viii. 13, an. 1205.

⁷ xiii. 66, an. 1210.

Some
details of
the divorce
suit.

About June 1203 there reached Innocent a letter from the unhappy queen. "You are," she said, "by God's grace the successor of Peter and the colleague of Paul, who did not shrink from striking the Corinthians with the sword of the spirit; . . . you are the topmost peak of the mountains to which all eyes turn; you are the saviour of the oppressed, and the refuge of the wretched. . . . Save me from those who hate me. . . . My lord, my husband, Philip, the illustrious king of the Franks, persecutes me. Not only does he not use me as a wife, but in scorn of my youth he does not blush to strive by the solitude of a prison and the opprobrious calumnies of his satellites to prevail on me to violate the rights of matrimony and the law of Christ. . . . Here in my prison no one, except some monk or nun (*aliqua religiosa persona*), dare come to console me, and I can never hear from anyone the word of God to refresh my soul. Nor have I a choice of confessors to whom I may make my confession. Mass I am rarely able to hear; the other services of the Church never. Not one of my countrymen is allowed to come near me, and but a poor supply of food is brought to me. Neither medicine nor doctor can I have, and I am not allowed a bath.¹ Hence do I fear for my appearance, and lest grievous illness should come upon me. I have but a poor supply of clothes, nor are they such as are suitable for a queen. Worse than all this are the vile creatures with whom the will of the king has surrounded me; . . . and I am not allowed to have the letters which your Holiness has sent me. . . . To you, most holy Father, do I turn my eyes lest I perish—perish, I do not mean in body, but in soul. For as I daily die for your

¹ "Balneum intrare non sinor; si volo minuere mihi sanguinem, facere non possum." Inter epp. Inn., vi. 85. What man born of woman could, after the contemplation of such brutality, ever respect Philip *Augustus*?

honour, and to preserve inviolate the laws of matrimony, how sweet and pleasant would the death of my body be to me so wretched and so desolate, the despised and rejected of all!" In fine, the heart-broken woman implored the Pope not to accept any proposition derogatory to her marriage which her feminine frailty, frightened by threats, might induce her to make.¹

In reply to this most touching letter Innocent at once despatched John, abbot of Casamari, to Philip with a letter which concluded by asking him to allow the abbot access to the queen in order that he might console her in the Pope's name, and in which he begged him to treat his wife becomingly, "if not for the fear of God or for respect for the Apostolic See, or for the noble birth and virtuous life of the queen herself, at least to silence evil tongues, and to preserve his good name—a treasure to be set above great wealth." If anything, he urged, were to happen to the queen, all men would say that you had brought about her death, and that you had thus killed a part of your own body.² A few months later³ Innocent warned Philip that he could not leave the queen's ill-treatment unnoticed, and that, without respect of persons, he would be compelled to take action.

Although the queen's condition, as far at least as food and raiment were concerned, was improved,⁴ Philip remained obdurate on the main question, and continued to put forth as grounds for a divorce not merely the alleged affinity, but more than ever the suggestion of invincible repugnance, or of witchcraft (*maleficium*).⁵ Writing, therefore, to Ingeborg on this subject, Innocent assured her that "we have done for you whatever man could do."

¹ Ep. vi. 85, c. June (?) 1203.

² vi. 86, June 1203.

³ vi. 182, December 9, 1203.

⁴ xi. 182.

⁵ "Putat ipse rex et multi etiam opinantur, quod perpetuo sit maleficio impeditus." viii. 113, July 5, 1205.

At the same time he sent to her his chaplain, to whom he assured her that she could open her mind.¹ Somewhat later, Philip, either fearing that the Pope would not tolerate the state of things much longer, or because he was at length moved by his representations, informed him that he was about to make an effort to overcome the bewitchment, or his natural repugnance (*maleficium*), and to consummate the marriage.² Needless to say, Innocent wrote to encourage this new resolve,³ and in the following year commissioned Gualo, cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Porticu, to examine into this alleged enchantment or repugnance.⁴

But Philip of France was not anxious for justice. What he wanted was a divorce. Accordingly, in a fresh letter to Innocent he put forth a new reason. Ingeborg was herself anxious, so he said, to go into a convent.⁵

¹ Ep. viii. 113.

² Ep. x. 176, an. 1207. "Oportet utique," wrote the Pope on hearing of Philip's intention, ". . . quod si volueris maleficium contra conjugium intentare, cum timore Dei ad reginam accedas . . . et adhuc tentes . . . utrum cum ea carne commercium valeas exercere, ut cognoscatur ex hoc an ipsum maleficium sit solutum." This was in accordance with what Innocent had already strongly insisted upon. Cf. *supra*, p. 97.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ xi. 86, May 29, 1208. Cf. ep. xi. 85, where the Pope, in commending Gualo to the king, gives him the highest character: "virum utique vita, fama, scientiaque præclarum." He speaks of him as "magnum in Ecclesia Dei locum habentem." As Cardinal Gualo occupies an important place in English history, this testimony of the Pope should be noted, as it discounts the character given to him by the cynical physician Giles of Corbeil. This cleric (all doctors were at this time clerics), an advocate of clerical marriage, endeavours to blacken the cardinal's character because he made strenuous efforts to enforce the laws of the Church regarding clerical celibacy. He was also hostile to the cardinal from "patriotic" motives, inasmuch as Gualo finally opposed the invasion of England by Philip's son, Louis VIII. Cf. Dr. Vieillard, *Gilles de Corbeil*, pp. 266-278, 288 ff., Paris, 1909. The learned doctor gives copious extracts from the hitherto unpublished *Hierapigra* of Giles—a work which was specially directed against Gualo.

⁵ xi. 180.

Innocent, however, let him know that he, at any rate, was only anxious for justice,¹ and wrote him a long and scathing letter, in which he unsparingly upbraids his cruel and cunning conduct.² Still, on condition that a fair trial is allowed, the new reasons for a divorce may be examined by Cardinal Gualo.³

A fair trial, however, was exactly what Philip Augustus was unable to face, and so, telling Gualo that he was convinced that the Pope had no intention of setting him free, bade him leave France forthwith.⁴ Still the weary game went on once more. On the one side we see Innocent continuing to console the outraged lady,⁵ and refusing, despite his political difficulties, to allow himself to be bullied into granting a divorce;⁶ and on the other side we see Philip endeavouring to put every kind of pressure on the Pope in order to force him to grant the divorce,—promising, for instance, to marry the daughter of the landgrave of Thuringia if he could make the Pope free him from Ingeborg.⁷

At last, contrary to all that seemed likely, the steady Philip takes back Ingeborg, 1213. adhesion to the cause of justice on the part of Innocent met its reward. The constantly dropping water had at length worn away all opposition. “To the great joy of the whole people,” Philip at last accorded her rights, both as a wife and as a queen, to that brave and long-suffering lady, Ingeborg of Denmark (1213).⁸ Some see in

¹ xi. 181, December 7, 1208.

² xi. 182, December 9, 1208, an important letter. ³ Ep. xi. 183.

⁴ January 1209. Ep. of Philip, ap. Delisle, *Catalogue des actes*, p. 515.

⁵ Ep. xiii. 66, May (?) 1210. ⁶ Epp. xv. 106–7, June 9, 1212.

⁷ Delisle, *l.c.*, n. 1248.

⁸ William the Breton, n. 166; William of Nangis, an. 1213; Alberic Trium Font., *Chron.*, an. 1193, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. p. 871; *Chron. Laudun.*, an. 1213; Rob. of Auxerre, *Chron., contin. II.*, an. 1213. “Per idem vero tempus quo disponebat rex navigare in Angliam, recepit in gratiam et in conjugales affectus legitimam suam Ingelburgem reginam.”

Philip's surrender merely his desire to further his designs on England ;¹ but, merely noting with one of his modern biographers that "the effects of political changes on the action of Philip . . . may be easily exaggerated," we will leave to the reader to assign motives as he pleases. At the same time, with the author just cited we may call attention to the fact that : "So far as it was possible to succeed, (Innocent) succeeded. He enforced the withdrawal of the illegal and dishonest divorce. He compelled Philip to put away Agnes. He compelled him again to recognise Ingeborg as his lawful wife. But not even a Pope could compel a man to live with his wife or to give her more than the necessities of life. He could remonstrate and even threaten, but there was a point at which the legal sanction of the Church definitely ceased. Innocent went as far as he was justified in going, and not an inch further."²

Other relations
between
Philip and
the Pope.

The courtier William the Breton, after telling us of the reconciliation between Philip and his wife, says that the people conceived immense joy thereat, "because there was no other fault in him." But it is certain that Innocent III. would not have so panegyrised him. More than once he had to threaten him with ecclesiastical censures for his high-handed treatment of the Church in his kingdom. Indeed, as will be related at length in connection with the Pope's vassal, King John, Innocent was apparently³ preparing to excommunicate Philip when death silenced his powerful voice for ever.

Of all the contemporary princes of Europe, Philip Augustus was the only one fit to be compared with Innocent. Both of them knew exactly what they wanted, and pursued their ends with the same inflexible tenacity

¹ Cf. *infra*.

² Hutton, *Philip A.*, p. 180.

³ That is if we can rely on the sole testimony of William the Breton, c. 217-20.

of purpose. The main object pursued by the French king was the increase of the royal power. Both secular¹ and ecclesiastical princes² felt the weight of his hand, and we have seen how for twenty years he kept largely at bay both public opinion and the power of the Church in order that even in the domain of the moral law his will might not be thwarted. Had he met a less determined Pope than Innocent, he would have bent all laws to serve his purposes. As it was, he is reckoned with St. Louis IX. and Louis XI. as among the sovereigns who have done most to consolidate the kingdom of France.

¹ "Adversus primarios sui cœpit potenter agere." Ralph Niger, *Chron.*, p. 93, ed. Anstruther.

² Rob. of Auxerre, an. 1180, tells of Philip's "his aliisque novis usurpationibus," and of his quarrel with the archbishop of Sens. Precedent to the contrary notwithstanding, Philip was resolved to bring all secular causes before the civil tribunals. Roger of Hoveden, an. 1180, says that even during the lifetime of his father "he began to practise tyranny over his people"; and in the dispute between Tours and Dol for jurisdiction over Brittany, his agents threatened Pope Lucius III. if he should decide in favour of Dol. *Cf. R. F. SS.*, xix. pp. 286-8.



Seal of the Emperor Otho IV. and that of his wife Maria.

CHAPTER II.

THE BRITISH ISLES.

I. ENGLAND.

Sources.—The concluding portion of the *Memoriale* of Walter of Coventry (*fl.* 1293) consists of the *Annals* of the reign of King John (1202–1226). This very valuable record is *perhaps* the work of a canon of Barnwell, and was drawn up about the year 1227. The existing original MS. of the Barnwell chronicle puts us in a position to affirm that Walter has practically incorporated the *Annals* intact into his *Memoriale*, which has been edited by Stubbs in his usual most scholarly style (R. S., 2 vols., 1873). A part of it may also be read ap. Bouquet, *R. F. SS.*, xviii. p. 164 ff.¹

In connection with the affair of the election of Stephen Langton, the most important event in the history of the relations between King John and Innocent III., we may mention a short fragmentary chronicle printed by Stubbs in his edition of Gervase of Canterbury, ii. p. liv ff., R. S. It will be quoted as *Chron. elect.*, and was seemingly drawn up by a contemporary monk of Canterbury.

The *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre*, the work of an unknown Fleming, which goes down to 1220, is very useful for the reign of King John; ed. F. Michel, Paris, 1840, or ed. (in part) Holder-Egger (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 703 ff.), who notes that our author was attached to Robert de Béthune, one of John's Flemish captains.

Comparatively recently there was discovered a remarkably good and interesting poem, of some twenty thousand lines (*Histoire de*

¹ With regard to Roger of Wendover, already spoken of, the edition of his *Chronicle* here quoted is that of H. O. Coxe for the English Hist. Society. Quite exceptionally, the edition in the Rolls Series by H. G. Hewlett is no improvement on its predecessors.

Guillaume le Maréchal), on the life of William, earl of Pembroke, regent for three years (1216-1219) during the minority of Henry III. The poem, though a panegyric, is full of information on the manners and customs of the time, and in its later portion is of great historical value. It was written by an anonymous minstrel at the request of the younger William the Marshal from the reminiscences of his father's squire, John of Earley. It covers the ground from 1186 to 1219; was written about 1226; and was published by P. Meyer, Paris, 1891-1901, 3 vols.

The Cistercian, Ralph Coggeshall (†c. 1228), wrote a *Chronicon Anglicanum* to the year 1224. His modern editor for the R. S., J. Stevenson, believes "that he did his best to secure and to perpetuate the truth," p. xv. The other sources for this period have already been noticed.

With the pontificate of Innocent III. there come into use the *Calendars of Papal Registers*, published in the Rolls Series. The *Calendars* give in English an abstract of the documents in the Papal Registers which concern England. *Papal Letters*, vol. i., goes from 1198 to 1304, and was edited by W. H. Bliss, London, 1893.

Modern Works.—In addition to those cited for "France," see *Stephen Langton* (Dublin, 1866) in the Lives of the English Saints Series, and a more important production, by C. E. Maurice (London, 1872), in the Lives of English Popular Leaders Series. Abbot, now Cardinal, Gasquet, *Henry the Third and the Church*, London, 1905.

IN previous biographies it has been told how Innocent Rings for
brought to a conclusion the great dispute between the King
archbishops and the monks of Canterbury by insisting Richard.
on the demolition of the church at Lambeth;¹ how he
endeavoured to help, or threatened to punish, the head-

¹ Cf. *supra*, vol. x., sub Urban III. Cf. *Calendar of Papal Registers*, i. pp. 1-4, 6. In ep. i. 357, he impresses upon King Richard that, in matters where justice is concerned, he will not swerve to the right or left, and will not, "for the love or favour of anyone whomsoever, deviate from the path of justice—*nec a justitiæ tramite recedemus*." Cf. *Gesta Inn.*, c. 42.

strong Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop of York;¹ and how he enforced Celestine's decisions against the Austrian captors of King Richard.²

During the brief period of their joint reigns the relations between Innocent and Richard were for the most part very amicable. The Pope assured the king that he wished to honour him very specially among "the other princes of the world," and, "with paternal foresight," to provide for his interests.³ And, apart from the support which the king gave to the archbishop of Canterbury against its monks, nothing arose to interrupt the harmonious relations between them. Innocent looked with great hope to Richard as the leader of another crusade, and hence worked hard to make peace between him and Philip Augustus; while Richard was anxious to gain the good-will of the Pope in order the more readily to induce him to support his nephew Otho in his candidature for the Empire. Moreover, the Church in England was not merely, as usual, devotedly attached to the paternal authority of the Holy See,⁴ but, for the moment, had no cause of complaint against the civil authority. For the king, apparently really grateful for the sacrifices which churchmen had made to help to raise the large sum required for his ransom, had issued a decree in which he not merely promised not to use as a precedent against them the amount of money they had raised for

¹ *Supra*, vol. x., *sub* Clement III. Cf. *Cal. P. R.*, i. pp. 6, 21, 29-31.

² *Supra*, vol. x., *sub* Celestine III. Cf. epp. i. 230, 236, 242.

³ Ep. i. 485.

⁴ The words of the chapter of Worcester seeking the canonisation of St. Wulstan show the attitude of English churchmen to Innocent. "Paternitatis vestræ pedibus advoluti postulamus . . . quatenus auctoritas sedis apostolicæ annuat petitioni, ut annumeretur in catalogo sanctorum in terris, quem (Wulstan) ut credimus ascripsit Deus numero civium suorum in cœlis." Ep. 222, inter epp. of Peter of Blois, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207, p. 512. The "authority of the Apostolic See" granted their request. Ep. vi. 62.

that purpose, but undertook to preserve intact, and even, where possible, to increase their immunities and liberties. As this rescript had been confirmed by Innocent, there was every hope of continued peace between the Church and State in this country.¹

Innocent's first letter to Richard accompanied a present of four rings. Whilst presuming that the king had many more beautiful ones than those which he is sending him, he begs him to consider their "form and number, their material and their colour, in order that he may look to the mystery rather than to the gift itself. Their roundness reminds us of eternity, which has neither beginning nor end. Hence from their form the king may learn to pass from the things of earth to the things of heaven, and from what is temporal to what is eternal. Their number, four, which is a square, denotes constancy, . . . and this the king will have when he is adorned with the four fundamental virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance. . . . Gold is emblematical of wisdom, because just as gold is the best of all the metals, so wisdom excels all other gifts. . . . Nothing more becomes a king than its possession, and hence we see Solomon, that king of peace, asked of God, in order that he might be able to govern his people well, only wisdom. Finally, the greenness of the emerald signifies faith, the heavenly blue (*serenitas*) of the sapphire is the symbol of hope, the redness of the garnet shows charity, and the golden gleam of the topaz typifies good works in accordance with those words of our Lord: 'Let your light

¹ Ep. i. 371, in which the Pope has included the decree of Richard, "king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou." Addressing the bishops and all the clergy of the country, the king said: "Gratias agimus affectuosas universitati vestræ pro eo quod de thesauris et ornamentis ecclesiasticis et facultatibus vestris ad corpus nostrum redimendum tam benigne nobis et liberaliter subvenistis."

shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven' (Matt. v. 16)."¹

In thanking the Pope for his beautiful rings, rendered more precious by the dignity of the giver,² Richard took advantage of the opportunity to urge the claims of Otho for papal support ; and he assured Innocent "that there live not in the world two Christian princes who have so great a desire to serve your majesty, and by whose aid you could more easily overcome the adversary of the peace of Christendom."³ Needless to say, he spoke of his nephew Otho and himself.

Efforts for
peace,
1198-99.

But Innocent's principal concern was, in the interests of the Holy Land, to make peace between England and France. Naturally indignant at Philip's having taken advantage of his captivity to seize part of his territories, Richard was bent on taking vengeance on the unscrupulous monarch, and as soon as he was free made war upon him. In his efforts to make peace, Innocent, after reminding the English king of all he had done and was doing for him, urged him to conclude a treaty with Philip, and did not hesitate to warn him that he might be forced to compel him to make peace by ecclesiastical censures.⁴

To support his letters the Pope despatched to France Peter of Capua, cardinal-priest of S. Maria in Via Lata ; gave him powers to compel the hierarchy of England to assist him ;⁵ and besought the kings of the two countries to make peace, or at least a truce for five years, so that

¹ i. 206. In x. 218 we have an exact repetition of this letter addressed to King John.

² "Licet admodum pretiosi existant, longe amplius pretiosos, tanquam a supremo et superexcellenti descriptore distinctos," etc. Ep. 4, *Reg. I.*

³ *Ib.*

⁴ i. 230, May 31, 1198. "Non poterimus aliquatenus sustinere quin vos ad pacem ineundam pariter et servandam per distriktionem ecclesiasticam ratione prævia compellamus."

⁵ i. 346.

the work of preparing for the Crusade might proceed.¹ His efforts were crowned with success, and a truce for five years was arranged between the two monarchs, one of the conditions being that Philip should aid Otho "to obtain the Roman Empire" (January 1199).²

Unfortunately, the death of Richard (April 8, 1199), Death of Richard and renewal of the truce, 1199. "of illustrious memory,"³ was held by Philip to have dissolved the truce. The king of France realised that the new ruler of England was a very different man to his brother, and that his chance had come. Although Richard had named John his heir, Philip at once espoused the cause of John's nephew, young Arthur, duke of Brittany; and, to cover his own designs on the English king's continental dominions, declared war on him, nominally in Arthur's behalf. However, by the untiring exertions of Cardinal Peter, the truce was renewed, but only till the following January.⁴ Before the truce expired a definite treaty was concluded between the belligerents, and for the time there was peace (January 1200).⁵

England was now, unfortunately, ruled by one whom King John, both ancient and modern authors describe as the worst of our kings, and who is regarded by William of Newburgh as "the enemy even of Nature itself."⁶ John Lackland or Softsword, strong only in crime, soon became in turn the sport of the king of France, to whom he lost Normandy; of the Pope, to whom he lost his kingdom; and of his

¹ Epp. i. 345, 348, 355.

² Roger of Hoveden, an. 1199, iv. 79 ff., R. S. Cf. epp. ii. 23-25.

³ Says Innocent, vi. 216. Hurter, i. 266, has a story to the effect that for a long time Innocent refused to allow Richard to be buried because he was excommunicated, and that at last the presentation to him of a poem made him withdraw his prohibition. There is no foundation for the story.

⁴ Roger of Hoveden, *ib.*, p. 97.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 106 f. By one of the clauses of the treaty John abandoned his nephew Otho. Cf. ep. Inn., v. 160.

⁶ *Chron.*, iv. 40.

barons, to whom he lost his independence. Licentious, cruel, and cowardly, John appears as the meanest and most despicable of our kings. If it is possible for a man to be without a redeeming feature, John Lackland was that man. This "crooked king," as a foreign historian calls him,¹ soon brought upon himself the reproaches of Innocent.

John does not fulfil the wishes of Richard.

John's mean avarice was one of the first causes which called forth Innocent's remonstrances. Berengaria, his sister-in-law, and Otho, king of the Germans, his nephew, complained bitterly to the Pope that the English king was retaining what was theirs by the will of Richard. On January 4, 1204, Innocent addressed the first of a long series of letters to John urging him not to be an oppressor of widows, but to give up her dowry to his brother's widow. Your action, said the Pope, has well-nigh reduced her to beggary. Reminding the king that he was the special protector of the widow and the orphan, he commissioned John, abbot of Casamari, and others to compel the English monarch to restitution.² But John was an adept at procrastination, and the Pope had to institute a committee of inquiry into the matter.³ Then followed other letters and threats in 1207,⁴ 1209,⁵ and 1210,⁶ and at length came an undertaking from John, when he had become the Pope's vassal, to compensate Berengaria.⁷ In the formal document issued by the chancellor of the realm on the subject, John declared that

¹ "Angulosus rex." Will., *Chron. Andrensis*, c. 164, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. 740.

² vi. 194. According to Roger of Hoveden, an. 1201, iv. 172, R. S., John had promised certain towns and money to Berengaria as early as 1201 (August 2).

³ vii. 168, December 16, 1204.

⁴ x. 122, September 3.

⁵ xi. 223-4, January 21.

⁶ xiii. 74, May 14.

⁷ This we know from a letter (December 23, 1216) of Honorius III., ap. Pressutti, i. n. 198, addressed to Berengaria, which gives John's undertaking, dated September 2, 1215.

"for the greater security of the compact we will obtain its confirmation by the Pope. Accordingly, we beg and humbly entreat the lord Pope to attach such sanctions (*securitates*) as he may think fit to this agreement, and we will accept whatever he may decide."¹

But though by this deed of settlement John declared that his successors were to be bound, the luckless Berengaria had, after John's death, again to turn to Rome; and again did the helpless widow receive the support she needed. Honorius III. wrote in her behalf,² and for the second time, at the request of Henry III., confirmed John's compact with her.³ But the queen-dowager did not find her pension secure till King John's compact was once more confirmed in 1228 (March 5) by Gregory IX.⁴

Unjust to his sister-in-law in the matter of her dowry, John was also unjust to his nephew Otho, king of the Germans, in the matter of the legacy left him by King Richard. Like Berengaria, the injured king turned to the Pope; for when he had demanded his money, John had cunningly replied that he could not give it to him, inasmuch as by his treaty with Philip of France he was debarred from giving him any assistance in men or money.⁵

In response to Otho's appeal, Innocent exerted himself

¹ These documents are printed in full in Horoy's edition of the works of Honorius III., vol. ii. p. 146 f. Cf. other letters of Honorius in connection with his confirmation, ap. *Cal. P. R.*, i. p. 43.

² *Cal. P. R.*, an. 1218, i. p. 54. ³ *Ib.*, pp. 77, 78, 82, an. 1221.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 120. Luchaire, vol. v. (*Les royautés*), p. 185 f., says that John treated his mother Eleanor in the same way as he treated Berengaria. But for this statement, he fails, as usual, to give any authority, and I cannot find any. It is most unsatisfactory dealing with historians who do not give references; and when one finds Luchaire inaccurate over the very vague references he does sometimes give, confidence in him cannot be strong. Regarding this very John he misdates on two consecutive pages (pp. 190 and 191) two letters of Innocent. One he dates October 9 should be October 31, and another May 7 should be March 7.

⁵ Roger of H., an. 1200, iv. 116, R. S. Cf. p. 83.

in his interests, and from October 1200 onwards, for some seven years, he addressed letters to John and to various English bishops on Otho's behalf.¹ Towards the end of the year 1205, he threatened to compel John to pay,² and at last, whether in consequence of the increasing severity of Innocent's language, or because he thought it desirable to help his nephew lest Philip of France in alliance with Philip of Suabia should become too powerful, John offered to come to terms with Otho. Accordingly, in May 1207 that prince visited England, and obtained from John five thousand marks of silver, the first,³ but by no means the last, grant he was to wring from him.

John's
divorce.

In the midst of these difficulties with Rome regarding money, John was nearly getting into worse trouble regarding the sacrament of matrimony. In August 1189, he married his cousin, Isabel of Gloucester,⁴ without a dispensation, and despite the protest of Archbishop Baldwin.⁵ Accordingly, in his turn, despite John's appeal to Rome, the archbishop laid his lands under an interdict. But, owing to this irregularity on Baldwin's part, the papal legate, John of Anagni, removed the interdict in virtue of the appeal.⁶ Baldwin died in the following year, and the affair seems to have dropped.⁷

But after some eleven years of married life with Isabel of Gloucester, another Isabel, Isabel of Angoulême, took John's fancy. Although she was already espoused to one of his vassals, John, having procured from the bishops of

¹ *Reg. Imp.*, epp. 28, October 1200; 49, March 1, 1201; 60; 69, March 28, 1202.

² *Ib.*, epp. 129, 131-2, 134.

³ Roger of Wendover, *Chron.*, an. 1207 *init.*

⁴ She was related to John in the third degree, both being descended from Henry I.

⁵ *Benedict*, ii. 78, R. S.

⁶ Ralph de D., an. 1189, ii. 72-3, R. S.

⁷ Ralph, however, says that a papal dispensation was then obtained. *Ib.*, 1199, ii. 167.

his continental dominions a decree of nullity regarding his marriage with his relative, Isabel of Gloucester (1199), married Isabel of Angoulême (August 1200).

When news of this reached Rome, John, says Ralph de Diceto, "incurred the great displeasure of the Supreme Pontiff, Innocent III., and of the whole Roman Curia, seeing that, contrary to the laws and canons, he had presumed rashly to dissolve what had been bound by their authority."² But the English Isabel, no doubt well satisfied to be rid of such a husband, did not appeal to Rome, and John promised to atone for his presumption by sending a hundred men to the succour of the Holy Land, and by building a Cistercian monastery. Innocent accordingly ratified, at least by tacit consent, the decision of the bishops of Normandy and Aquitaine.³ Though this decision did but reaffirm the original valid decision of Baldwin, which, as we have noted above, does not seem to have been officially annulled, still we may well apply Hurter's dictum to this case: "Laws," he says, "designed to . . . put a term to man's wanderings from the right path, not unfrequently serve to give them a helping hand."⁴

Throughout all his reign John's arbitrary conduct raised up bitter enemies against him. Hugh Lusignan, count de la Marche, whom he had outraged by carrying off his affianced bride, the youthful Isabel, appealed to

War
between
Philip and
John, 1202.
The Pope's
efforts for
peace.

¹ *Ib.*, an. 1199, ii. 166-7; Roger of Hov., an. 1200, iv. 119, R. S.

² *Ib.*, p. 167.

³ Epp. v. 20, March 27, 1200, and 50 (July). In the latter letter Innocent speaks of the decision of the bishops "quod postmodum sedes apostolica minime retractavit"; and he adds, "super divortio tamen non fuit ad sedem apostolicam querela delata." How unfairly Luchaire (v. p. 187) has treated of this affair may be gathered not merely from the above, but from the remarks of F. W. Maitland in the *English Hist. Rev.*, x. (1895, p. 758 f.). Isabel of Gloucester is sometimes called Hawisa.

⁴ i. p. 418.

Philip of France, John's suzerain. Though duly summoned to give an account of his conduct, John paid not the slightest heed to the summons. Philip, accordingly, took advantage of the situation to reassert Arthur's claims, and renewed the war against John. Distressed at the reopening of a war which he had once succeeded in bringing to a close, the Pope again endeavoured to bring about a cessation of hostilities. Owing to Philip's treatment of his wife, and to his support of Philip of Suabia, Innocent was naturally inclined to favour John, and he had already, on March 7, 1202, despatched a letter to the archbishop of Rouen reminding him of the interest which he had hitherto always taken in John, and bidding him employ ecclesiastical censures to subdue those on this side of the sea who should "presume to rebel against him."¹

Innocent
sends a
legate to
France,
May 1203.

After war had broken out between Philip and John, Innocent followed up this recommendation by sending into France John, abbot of Casamari, as his legate. He also sent a number of letters to the two kings, and to the bishops of France. He reminded Philip that it was not proper for the Pope to be "an acceptor of persons," and that men would even blame him if he looked to the will of kings and princes rather than to their salvation. He reminded him also that experience must have taught him what harm the dissensions between himself and John had brought, not only upon their respective kingdoms, but upon the whole Christian people. "When you are fighting against each other, churches are destroyed, the rich are impoverished, and the poor oppressed. No place nor sex is spared, and so religious men who used to have leisure for prayer are compelled to beg, and, we say it with grief, religious women who have dedicated their virginity to its author, are prostituted to the lust

¹ Ep. v. 31.

of plunderers.”¹ Peace is the message he sends to the two kings, and he urges the French bishops to help in its promotion.² Philip, however, was impatient of the Pope's interference, and declared that he was not bound to accept his ruling with regard to fiefs, and that the business of kings was no concern of the Pope.³ This declaration of an independence which was not in accordance with the ideas of the age, called forth a strong letter from Innocent. He had sent John, he said to Philip, as a messenger of peace, mindful of the ready reception which he had formerly given to Cardinal Peter. But he has now heard with astonishment that Philip wishes to narrow the ample jurisdiction which God has given the Apostolic See in spirituals.

Then, before proceeding to give a strictly logical support to his position, Innocent begs Philip to remember the fortune of war, and that one day his answer may be turned against himself or his descendants. Besides, after all, what is he asking, except that, saving the rights of both parties, peace, or at least a truce, should be made? The sacred Scriptures are ever impressing peace upon men.

“Moreover, no one of sound mind doubts that it is ours to judge of those things which concern the salvation or damnation of the soul. And surely to attack God's servants, to destroy religious houses, . . . and to shed human blood deserves perpetual damnation and the loss

¹ vi. 68, May 26, 1203. Cf. 69. Cf. Rigord, n. 140; Gervase, *Gesta*, an. 1203, ii. 95, R. S. The Cistercian abbey of Casamari is in the Campagna di Roma near the Garigliano. According to Gervase, John was also commissioned to inquire into what had happened to Prince Arthur.

² vi. 70.

³ “Respondisti, quod de jure feudi . . . stare mandato sedis apostolicæ vel iudicio non teneris, et quod nihil ad nos pertinet de negotio quod vertitur inter reges.” Ep. vi. 163, October 31, 1203.

of eternal salvation?¹ If on such a matter the word of God was tied in our mouth . . . with justice would the blood of so many thousands of men be required at our hands. . . ." The king of England has complained to the Roman Church that his brother of France has been wantonly attacking him. "But the Church," continues the Pope, "wishes to treat you with the affection of a father rather than with the power of a judge," and hence she has simply begged you to refrain from injuring your brother. But if you continue to despise her voice, then must she treat you as a heathen and a publican. If, however, you hold that you are simply maintaining your rights against John, you should humbly allow the abbot John and others to examine the matter, "not in so far as there is question of the fief, of which you are the judge, but in so far as there is a question of sin, the condemnation of which undoubtedly belongs to us."² If, however, you should be proved to be in the wrong, and yet remain contumacious, we will do our duty in your regard, as we fear nothing when justice is concerned.

Then, to let Philip understand how thoroughly he was convinced by his own arguments,³ the Pope ordered his legate, and the archbishops of Sens, Rheims, and Bourges, to excommunicate all, even the king himself,

¹ "Numquid autem non meritorium et damnationis perpetuæ, ac demeritorium salutis æternæ, fovere discordiam, fidei domesticos impugnare . . . sanguinem humanum effundere ac ecclesias profanare?" Ep. vi. 163.

² "Humiliter patiaris ut abbas prædictus, etc. . . . super hoc de plano cognoscat, non ratione feudi, cujus ad te spectat judicium, sed occasione peccati, cujus ad nos pertinet sine dubitatione censura." *Ib.*

³ As we learn from Innocent himself, some were not satisfied with his reasoning. But he insisted that, while he regarded some of his arguments as merely plausible, he considered others quite sound. "Rationes quas in litteris nostris posuimus, quasdam probabiles credimus, quasdam vero validas reputamus." vii. 44.

who should attack King John.¹ At the same time, he told that monarch that in his dealings with him he was guided by what he thought to be his duty rather than by any belief that John had done anything to merit his favour, and that, because he was Philip's liegeman, he must answer to him regarding certain charges alleged against him.²

Meanwhile, in the field, John had had at first some success by capturing the young Prince Arthur;³ but Philip, while keeping up a pretence of negotiating with Innocent's representative John, and while appealing to Innocent himself, soon recovered from this blow, and proceeded rapidly to overrun Normandy. He paused in his victorious career for a brief space in March 1204, whilst the abbot went to England to meet King John and the great ones of the kingdom at a council in London.⁴ Soon afterwards the abbot, in company with some English envoys, returned to France with certain peace proposals from King John. Philip, however, would not entertain them; but resumed hostilities, and before long was master of nearly all John's Continental dominions.⁵ A truce for two years, concluded on October 13, 1206, left the French king in possession of nearly all his conquests.

These losses did not improve John's temper, and our historians tell us that his softness, which led the people to call him "Softsword," gradually changed into a cruelty that surpassed anything ever seen in any of his predecessors.⁶ As he became more cruel so he became more arbitrary, and in his wantonness he began to try

John of
Casamari
in London,
1204.

John's in-
creasing
cruelty and
arbitrary
conduct.

¹ Ep. vi. 164-6. Cf. vii. 44.

² Ep. vi. 167.

³ August 1202. Arthur was *probably* killed about April 1203 by John; but his fate has remained a mystery.

⁴ Gervase, *Gesta*, ii. 95.

⁵ *Ib.*, and p. 96. Cf. Ralph of Coggeshall, an. 1204, p. 144 f.

⁶ Gervase, *ib.*, an. 1200, ii. 93.

to order the Church according to his will. For some years, however, he succeeded, though at times with difficulty, in keeping on good terms with the Pope. From 1202 to 1206 he constantly incurred Innocent's displeasure, and received many letters urging him not to interfere with the liberties of the Church, and threatening him with one kind of ecclesiastical censure or another for his ill-treatment of the bishops of Limoges, Bath, Poitiers, and of the archbishop of Dublin and various abbots. Innocent had also to complain of his violation of the rights of freedom of election in the cases of the sees of Lincoln and Sééz, and he had to send a legate, John, cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata, to protect the dean of Salisbury and others who were contending for the rights of the see of Winchester. "Would that," wrote the worried Pope to the tyrant, "you would give thought to the sorrows which you so frequently bring upon me by your oppression of churches and your ill-treatment of clerics."¹

A double election.

But there was to be a limit to John's arbitrary attempts to set aside the liberties of the Church. The English king reached that limit in attempting to nominate a successor to the see of Canterbury,—an event which

¹ Ep. v. 68 (1202), regarding John's plundering the bishop of Limoges. Cf. ep. v. 160, February 20, 1203, about Bath, Dublin, etc. The Pope upbraids John for preventing his delegates from carrying out his commissions, whereas he has always endeavoured to support John's authority. Also epp. vi. 63-4, and vii. 171, *re* Dublin; vi. 73, ordering the archbishop of Rouen to put all Normandy under an interdict if John does not receive the bishop of Sééz back into favour in the course of a month; and viii. 209, in which he tells his legate, Cardinal John, that King John had declared: "De laicis autem nihil ad nos pertinebat omnino"! Cf. the chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, an. 1201, *sub fin.*, for an instance of the difficulties in which churchmen were placed by the differences between the Pope and the king. "I am distressed on all sides," said the unfortunate abbot of St. Edmundsbury; "I must either offend God or the king."

brings us in contact with perhaps the most fateful election to an episcopal see ever made in England.

On July 13, 1205, there departed from this life Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury. If, like Wolsey, he was more a prime minister than a bishop,¹ he was also, like Wolsey, able to keep a tyrant within some bounds. When he heard of his death, John exclaimed: "Now for the first time am I king of England,"² and forthwith resolved to replace him by a favourite, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, as he had just secured the election to the see of Winchester of Peter des Roches (de Rupibus), "a man of knightly rank, *skilled in warfare*."³

But the monks of Canterbury were anxious to secure their right of election both against the king and against the bishops of the province. For, though our kings on their election swore to respect the liberties of the Church,⁴ they nearly always endeavoured to deprive the chapters of their right of episcopal elections, and often succeeded in so doing; and the bishops of the province of Canterbury, though they had no canonical right to

¹ Innocent compelled him to resign the justiciarship (Rog. of Hov., an. 1198), but King John made him chancellor when he became king (*ib.*, an. 1199). Giraldus says of Walter: "vir vivacitate et animositate conspicuus, sed . . . nec literalis eruditionis copia præditus, nec intensioris forsan religionis gratia fœcundatus." *Spec. Eccles.*, Dist. ii. c. 25. He was not, however, without zeal for the good of the Church, as is shown by his decrees at the synod of London (1200), which he held "despite the prohibition of the chief justiciar." To every single one of the decrees he appended the phrase: "saving in all things the honour and privileges of the Holy Church of Rome." Roger of H., an. 1200.

² Mat. Par., *Hist. Ang.*, ii. 104.

³ Roger of Wendover, an. 1204, *sub fin.* Peter was elected June 21, 1205, and consecrated at Rome, September 25. Cf. Cassan, *The Lives of the Bishops of Winchester*, i. 161 ff.

⁴ At his coronation John himself swore "quod videlicet S. ecclesiam et ejus ordinatos veneraretur," etc. Mat. Par., *Hist. Ang.*, ii. 80, R. S. But as the *Gesta*, c. 131, notes: "Electiones prælatorum nusquam libere fierent."

share in the election of their superior, considered that their very position naturally gave them such a right.¹

Accordingly, before the time appointed by the king to hold the election, the monks of Canterbury secretly elected their sub-prior Reginald, and sent him with some companions to Rome to obtain the confirmation of the Pope.²

Despite the instructions he had received, Reginald could not keep a secret, and the fact of his election was soon known to the king. In the month of December John appeared at Canterbury, and the monks were so overawed by him that some of them at least joined the suffragan bishops and elected a fresh candidate in the person of "a very great friend of the king (*familiarissimus regi*)," John de Gray, bishop of Norwich.³ Six more monks were then sent to Rome to obtain the Pope's confirmation of their new candidate.

The Pope was, of course, both astonished and angry at this action of the monks, and in a long letter to them (March 30, 1206) let them know that for their want of truth and honour he regarded them as degenerate sons. The first five monks who came with Reginald had made it plain, so the Pope reminded them, that he had been elected by all the brethren, and now six other monks had come and declared that they had "all freely and spontaneously" elected the bishop of Norwich.

To arrive at the knowledge of the real truth of the

Innocent
quashes
both elec-
tions, 1206.

¹ Despite the reclamations of the suffragans of Canterbury, Innocent decided that they had no right to interfere in the election. Ep. ix. 205, December 20, 1206. Cf. viii. 161; ix. 34-37, 207.

² Inn., ep. ix. 34, an important letter; Gervase, ii. 98 f.; *Chron. elect.*, p. liv, R. S.

³ *Chron. elect.*, l.c. "Episcopi comprovinciales, cum quibusdam monachis Cantuariensibus regiam gratiam . . . captantibus . . . in Johannem . . . sua vota converterunt." Cf. Walter of Coventry, an. 1205, ii. p. 197, R. S.

⁴ "Asserebant a vobis (electionem R.) concorditer celebratam, sicut ex decreto fratrum evidentius apparebat." Ep. ix. 34.

affair, Innocent sent a mandate to the bishop of Rochester to examine the monks at Canterbury,¹ while he caused all those who had come to Rome on the subject to be also carefully cross-questioned. The result of the examination was that the Pope declared that both elections were void—the first because it was conducted in an irregular manner, and the second because it was made under pressure from the king (December 20, 1206).² He then told the monks who were present, and who had received power from their brethren to elect another archbishop in Rome should their first candidate not be accepted, to elect a suitable pastor. At first some made further efforts to secure the election of Reginald or of John de Gray as the case might be; but at length they unanimously elected the Englishman, Stephen Langton, cardinal-priest of St. Chrysogonus, who had, it appears, been suggested to them by the Pope.³ Though the king's proctors would not give their assent to this election, Innocent approved of it; but, as he assured the king, it was only because he regarded the see of Canterbury "as the chief member of the Apostolic See, and the brightest gem of the English crown,"⁴ that

¹ ix. 37, March 30, 1206.

² "Favore regio," Walt. of C., *l.c.*; *Chron. elect.*, p. lv; *Gesta*, c. 131; ep. ix. 206. The account of this affair in Roger of Wendover, an. 1205, is inaccurate. The authorities are all agreed that John spent a considerable amount of money in Rome in trying to gain his end.

³ Ep. ix. 206 and 207. This last letter should be read in the *Chron. elect.*, p. lxxviii, as it is only given in the Pope's Register in an abbreviated form. Gervase, ii. 99, R. S.; *Gesta*, *l.c.*

⁴ "Quæ quidem et præcipuum apostolicæ sedis membrum esse dignoscitur, et singularior tuæ gemma coronæ." Ep. ix. 206, to the king. This declaration of the Pope justifies the contention of Gervase, who, after saying that Canterbury is to England as Rome is to the universal Church, adds: "Tanta enim extitit hucusque familiaris unitas inter Romanam et Cantuariensem ecclesiam, ut non duæ sed una et eadem videretur, quantum attinet dico ad prælationem et subjectionem. Romana autem securitas, ut dignum est, non solum Cantuarinæ, sed et toti mundanæ præferri debet ecclesiæ." i. 79, R. S.

he would allow "so strong a pillar of the Apostolic See" as Stephen to be taken away from it. Pointing out to John that Stephen is an Englishman, and sprung from a family that is faithful to him, he begs him to write back within three months to intimate that the newly elected prelate may present himself to him. Otherwise, however much he may love the king, he will have to proceed in accordance with canon law.¹

It was, says Gervase, "on account of reverence for the king" that Innocent asked his assent to the election of Stephen. But, he continues, "seduced by the advice of wicked men," John not merely refused to receive him, but, after Innocent had consecrated Stephen (June 1207),² he expelled the monks of Canterbury from England, upbraided the Pope for interfering with his rights, threatened to stop any moneys leaving England for Rome, and so oppressed the bishops and others who supported them that many were only too glad to save themselves by a voluntary exile. The bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, his warlike favourite, was at last the only bishop who remained with him.

"As though he were the sole power on earth, he feared neither God nor man . . . nor was there one left in the land who dare resist his will in anything."³

During his seven years' quarrel with the Pope, John prepared the way for his fall by his oppressive taxation

¹ ix. 206. Cf. on Stephen, ep. x. 219.

² Cf. a letter of Innocent to the suffragans of Canterbury in which he tells them he has consecrated Stephen "with his own hands," and that he parts with him with the greatest reluctance, "ut qui quasi nobiscum hactenus universali præfuerat ecclesiæ, secundum vocationem ipsam [the call of God] Cantuariensi ecclesiæ specialiter præferatur." He bids them obey him in everything as their archbishop. Cf. *Chron. elect.*, pp. lxi and lxxiv. Cf. Stephen's own letter to them, *ib.*, lxii and lxxv.

³ Gervase, *l.c.*, pp. 99, 100. Cf. Walt. of C., ii. 199; and Roger of Wend., an. 1207.

John will
not have
Stephen
Langton,
1206.

John's
tyranny.

of all classes,¹ by his spoliation of the clergy, and by his licentious life, which engendered against him the deepest hatred from many an outraged husband, lover, or brother.² At the same time he displayed no little energy in crushing his enemies in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, in endeavouring to bring about a coalition against his arch-enemy Philip, and in delaying papal action by insincere negotiations.

Meanwhile, when Innocent found that he was not likely to effect much by persuasion, he issued a mandate to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to make another effort to induce the king to acknowledge Stephen, and, if he would not, to put the kingdom under an interdict (*c.* August 1207).³ He bade them point out to the king that he was entering on a dangerous course; for he must be sure that the English people, so zealous for the faith, would not follow him against the Church.⁴ Other letters followed urging the other bishops and the great laymen of England to work in the same direction,⁵ as they were all in favour of the

Innocent's
threats,
1207.

¹ "Mirum autem in modum tunc temporis omnes fines Anglicanos exactione pecuniaria gravavit." *Chron. elect.*, p. lvii.

² "De bieles femes estoit trop couvoiteus; mainte honte en fist as haus homes de la terre: par coi il fu moult haïs." *Hist. des ducs de Nor.*, p. 105. *Cf.* Roger of W., an. 1212, iii. p. 240.

³ x. 113. Innocent points out that through the favour he has hitherto shown to John he has incurred the enmity of other princes. *Cf.* Roger of W., an. 1208.

⁴ "Absit enim ut in tam iniquo proposito populus Anglicanus, qui vere Christianus existit et zelator fidei orthodoxæ, contra Regem cœlestem sequatur terrenum." With regard to the interdict, all religious rites were to be suspended, except the baptism of infants and the confession of the dying. The archbishop Stephen also wrote to warn the people of England of what was impending, and to point out to them that his cause was identical with that of his predecessor St. Thomas. *Chron. elect.*, pp. lxiv and lxxvii ff.

⁵ Epp. x. 159, 160, November 18, 1207. The Pope's commissioners were also instructed not to allow any exceptions, on the ground of privilege, to the observation of the interdict. *Cf.* x. 161.

election of Stephen.¹ For a moment John was moved, or affected to be, and promised the three bishops to comply with the Pope's orders.²

England
placed
under an
interdict,
1208.

But John quickly changed his mind, and swore "by God's teeth" that if any bishops dared to lay an interdict on his dominions, he would send all the clergy out of England to the Pope; and, if any of them were Roman clerics, they should go with their eyes plucked out and their noses slit.³

Despite all this savage bluster, the interdict was duly laid on the country on Passion Sunday (March 23), and

¹ *Ann. Margan* (in Glamorganshire), an. 1207, ap. *Annales Monastici*, i., R. S., speaking of Stephen's election, say: "Pro cujus electione, quia facta fuit contra profanas illas consuetudines quas vocant avitas leges . . . orta est statim discordia inter P. Innocentium et Johannem tyrannum Angliæ, faventibus *ei* et consentientibus omnibus laicis et clericis fere universis, sed et viris cujus libet professionis multis." Miss Norgate in her most excellent book, *John Lackland*, p. 129 n., asks whether the *ei* refers to Stephen, Innocent, or John? Perhaps it rather refers to the *election* of Stephen. The popular feeling in Stephen's behalf may perhaps be gathered from a political song, "The Lament over the Bishops," in which Stephen is praised and the king's bishops, Peter of Winchester, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, and Jocelin of Bath, are scarified. Singing of the present misery of Canterbury, the poet adds:

"Sed cum habebis Stephanum,
Assumes tibi tympanum,
Chelym tangens sub modulo."

And he concludes:

"I Romam, liber parvule,
Nec remeare differas,
Saluta quosque sodule,
Et Papæ salve differas
Dic quid de tribus [the bishops] sentiam.
Ipse promat sententiam,
Utrum suo judicio
Sint liberi a vitio;
Et michi detur venia."

Ap. Wright, *The Political Songs of England*, p. 6 ff., ed. Camden Soc.

² With Gervase, ii. p. 100, *cf.* John's letter of submission to the three bishops, January 21, 1208, ap. *Rot. Pat.*, i. 74.

³ Roger of W., *l.c.*

many of the bishops straightway left the country.¹ Mad with rage, John proceeded to confiscate the property of the clergy with brutal violence,²—a measure he was able to carry through because the barons, instead of making common cause with the clergy, held their hands, only to find that in due time John turned upon them.

“In the midst of these and similar impious proceedings,” writes Roger of Wendover, “King John, on reflection, was afraid that after the interdict our lord the Pope would lay hands on him more heavily by excommunicating him by name, or by absolving the nobles of England from allegiance to him.” To guard against the latter contingency, he forcibly exacted hostages from the chief members of the nobility, and to put off the former he reopened negotiations with Rome. Soon after the proclamation of the interdict he sent Hugh, abbot of Beaulieu, in the New Forest, to inform the Pope that, though he considered himself aggrieved in the matter of Stephen’s election, he was willing to acknowledge him and make reparation for his violence, “on account of his devotion and reverence towards the Roman Church and towards our person.”³

More negotiations,
1208.

¹ Roger ; Gervase, *Il.cc.* ; Walter of Cov., ii. 199, etc. ; *Gesta*, c. 131. The quaint fourteenth-century English of Robert Mannyng’s translation adds much to the quaint description of the interdict given by Peter Langtoft in his *Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 209, ed. Hearne, Oxford, 1725 :

“Ye pape sauh out of cours ye wikkednes of Jon,
Him and his fautours he cursed euerilkon (everyone),
And enterdited this lond, that messe was non said,
A ded man if men fond, in kirke yerd was non laid.”

Read Bridgett, *A Hist. of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, chap. ix. “Interdicts” ; Krehbiel, *The Interdict*, Washington, 1909 ; and E. Vernay, *Le “Liber de excommunicatione”* of Cardinal Bérenger Frédol (†1323), Paris, 1912.

² Wendover, *l.c.* ; Gervase, ii. p. 101 ; Coggeshall, p. 163 ; W. of C., “Episcopi et omnes personæ ecclesiasticæ dissaisiantur.”

³ Ep. xi. 89, May 27. Cf. *ib.*, 90 and 91, of the same date, and ep.

Finding he was but being mocked, Innocent sent the king a peremptory order to fulfil his promises, letting him know that, if he did not do so within the three months "after the reception or rejection of these presents,"¹ he would cut him off from the communion of the faithful (January 12, 1209).

John, however, would not hearken either to the kind words or to the threats of the Pope; nor would he listen to the advice of his nephew Otho of Germany, urging him to accept Stephen.² On the contrary, he continued his career of arbitrary violence, and with the aid of his mercenaries oppressed clergy and laity alike. He seemed of set purpose "to be steadily provoking against him the hearts of all his subjects."³

John is ex-
communi-
cated, 1209.

Innocent was now losing patience with the deceitful monarch, and in June (22) he instructed the bishop of Arras to hold himself in readiness to join the three episcopal commissioners in excommunicating King John when he should be requested so to do by Cardinal Stephen.⁴ Once more, however, in the hope at least of postponing the threatened sentence, John negotiated, and numerous letters passed between him and the arch-

xi. 141, of August 22. Coggeshall says: "Rex . . . misit Romam et se satisfacturum per omnia Deo et S. Ecclesiæ ac d. Papæ spopondit; sed minime tenuit." An. 1208, p. 163, R. S.

¹ xi. 211, to the Pope's three commissioners, the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, January 12, 1209, enclosing a letter to the king. Cf. ep. xi. 221, January 23, 1209. In this letter he warns the king against those who are willing enough in his regard to use the oil of flattery, but are slow to employ the wine of blame. He implores him in the tenderest terms not to drive him to extremities: "ecce familiariter petimus, ecce dulciter admonemus, ecce paterne consulimus, ecce benigne rogamus . . . quatenus . . . nobis et Ecclesiæ, imo Deo . . . satisfacere non postponas."

² Cf. his letter, ap. Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. 103 (orig. ed.), or ap. *Chron. elect.*, p. xciv.

³ Mat. Paris, *Hist. Angl.*, an. 1209, ii. 118.

⁴ Ep. xii. 57.

bishop or the three papal commissioners.¹ He succeeded in getting the date of his excommunication postponed to October.² But as usual nothing came of the negotiations, and John's excommunication was at last officially proclaimed. Gervase says,³ "he was excommunicated by many ecclesiastical persons"; *i.e.*, not by the Pope's commissioners, because they had fled, but by the lesser clergy, so that "in a short time the decree became known to all in the roads and streets, and even in the places of assembly of the people it afforded a subject of secret conversation to all."⁴ The excommunication was also publicly proclaimed throughout France.⁵

John now suffered not himself to be restrained by anything. Listening to the words of a certain Master Alexander, who told him that it was the business of the king to break his subjects, if need be, like the potters' vessels, and that the Pope had no right to interfere with the lands or peoples of kings, as the Lord had only given him power over the Church and Church property,⁶ he not merely continued to prevent the payment of Peter's Pence or of any revenues possessed by cardinals in England, but treated with the greatest cruelty clergy and laity alike. The Jews especially were at this time cruelly tortured by him in order to wring money from them,⁷ and he even turned against the Cistercians, who in the beginning of the interdict had incurred the Pope's

John's
cruelties.

¹ Cf. the documents ap. *Chron. elect.*, pp. c-cvii.

² Gervase, *Gesta reg.*, an. 1209, ii. 104. "The document," says Stubbs in a note on this page, "in which the postponement is granted is dated September 2, 1209; see MS. Cleopatra, E 1."

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Roger of W., an. 1209. Cf. Walt. of C., an. 1209, ii. 200, R. S. "Johannes . . . post admonitiones plurimas publice anathemati subjeci ur."

⁵ Gervase, *l.c.*, iii. p. 105. Cf. *Ann. Dunst.*, an. 1209.

⁶ Roger of W., *l.c.*, iii. p. 230.

⁷ Gervase, iii. pp. 101 and 105.

displeasure because, in the fond hope of gaining John's favour, they had not properly carried out the conditions of the interdict.¹

Pandulf
arrives in
England,
1211.

With all his recklessness, John was conscious that his situation was eminently precarious, and he did not cease to keep up the pretence of negotiating. As a consequence, there landed in England in June 1211 the subdeacon, *cardinal* (?) Pandulf, and Durandus, a Templar, charged to make peace between the king and the archbishop,² or, as Wendover expresses it, between "the civil and ecclesiastical powers, the *regnum* and the *sacerdotium*."³ They were instructed, as Pandulf was afterwards in the beginning of the year 1213,⁴ "prudently" to urge the king to accept the conditions of peace which, after much care, had been drawn up "between us and the king's envoys." If the king will swear that he will submit to the Pope's ruling on the matters for which he has been excommunicated, then he can be reconciled to the Church. If, moreover, he will give security to recall to England the archbishop and the other exiles, and will restore their property, the interdict may be removed.⁵

¹ *Ann. Waverl.*, p. 265; Gervase, iii. p. 105; R. of W., an. 1208, ii. 225-6; Coggeshall, pp. 163-4; and Epp. Inn., xi. 235, 259, 260, February 1209; xii. 10.

² Gervase, iii. 107. Cf. the Pope's ep. to John (April), ap. *Chron. elect.*, p. cxiii and his letter (April 14, 1211) to Pandulf and Durand.

³ iii. p. 236. Roger, *ib.*, p. 235, describes Pandulf as "subdiaconum et sedis apostolicæ cardinalem," and hence we have here called him cardinal. But he is not generally called cardinal, and there does not seem to be any evidence that he was ever created a cardinal. Cf. Pirie-Gordon, p. 142 n.

⁴ See the instructions given them ap. *Chron. elect.*, p. cxiii, or in a document enclosed to King John, February 27, 1213, ep. xv. 234.

⁵ See Innocent's letter of April 14, 1211, to Pandulf and Durand, ap. *Chron. elect.*, p. cxiii. It is the same document as was given again to Pandulf in 1213, ap. xv. 234. Cf. the actual articles of the agreement which the papal legates took with them, viz., the "Pacis et reconciliationis leges," enclosed in the same letter, xv. 234.

John met the legates in August (1211); but, as usual, the negotiations came to nothing. According to the most important authority, Roger of Wendover, John agreed to receive Stephen Langton, and to allow the bishops and monks to return to their sees in peace, but would not consent to compensate them for the losses they had sustained.¹ But other, less reliable, authorities state that John agreed to all the other conditions laid down by the Pope, but would not recognise Stephen as archbishop.² At any rate, the conference was a failure.³ Innocent now went a step further. From a general interdict over John's territories, the Pope had proceeded to personal excommunication of the iniquitous monarch. From personal excommunication he passed in 1212 to declaring him deposed from his kingdom.⁴ To this he was urged by the cardinal-archbishop and other exiled English bishops who went to Rome, and pointed out to the Pope that the oppression of John had brought the English almost to the last extremity. Accordingly, though hampered by the enmity of the emperor Otho, and with

Collapse of
the negoti-
ations,
John
declared
deposed,
1212.

¹ An. 1211 *init.* Innocent fixed "8000 legal pounds sterling" as the amount of compensation due, at the rate of 2500 for the archbishop, 750 for William of London, 1500 for Eustace of Ely, 750 for Giles of Hereford, 750 for Jocelin of Bath, 750 for Hugh of Lincoln, and 1000 for the monks of Canterbury. See the "*Pacis . . . leges*," ap. xv. 234.

² *Annal. Burton.*, an. 1211, p. 210. Cf. the *Annals of Waverley*, an. 1212.

³ Walt. of C., an. 1211, ii. p. 204. "*Pace infecta redeuntes (nuncii), nihil afflictis contulerunt.*"

⁴ This step was only in accordance with the laws of the age. "Incapacity to govern and the dissolution of fealty were, *juxta legem Teutonicorum*, the civil consequences of excommunication. In England down to the beginning of the present century (the nineteenth), the effect of ecclesiastical censures was very similar. An excommunicated person in England was placed almost wholly beyond the protection of the law. . . . After forty days' contumacy he might be arrested . . . and imprisoned till he was reconciled to the Church." So says Lecky, *Hist. of England in the Eighteenth Century*, iii. 495, ap. Lilly, *Chapters in European Hist.*, i. p. 168 f.

the war against the Albigensians on his hands, Innocent, after taking "the advice of his cardinals, bishops, and other wise men, definitively decreed that John, king of England, should be deposed from the throne of that kingdom, and that another more worthy than he, who should be chosen by the Pope, should succeed him."¹

Innocent then wrote to Philip of France, urging him to undertake the task of deposing John, and declaring that, if he expelled him, he and his heirs should be kings of England, and that he would make a general appeal to the fighting men of Europe to help him to avenge the insult which John "had cast on the universal Church," offering them the same privileges as were offered to those who fought in the Holy Land.²

Great joy
in England
at the news
of the
declaration
of John's
deposition.

When the news of this action of the Pope reached England, there was great joy in the land, for the "king's enemies were as numerous as his nobles," and, says Roger of Wendover, whom we are here following, "if report is to be credited, they sent a document (*charta*), furnished with the seals of the said nobles, to the king of France, telling him that he might safely come to England, to be received and crowned with both glory and honour."³

Philip
begins to
make pre-
parations
for the
invasion of
England,
1212-13.

The action of the Pope brought joy also to Philip of France. That schemer, as Walter of Coventry takes notice, "did not stand in need of much exhortation to invade England, as he had been contemplating such a course for a long time, both because he hated John, and because he wanted to lay his hands on the silver and

¹ Rog. of W., an. 1212, iii. 241. Walt. of C., an. 1213, also states that Innocent was moved to declare John's deposition at the instance of the English bishops.

² Rog. of W., *ib.* Cf. Walt. of C., *l.c.*, and the *Chron. of the Mayors of London*, p. 201, ed. Camden. Soc. The Pope's letters on this subject do not appear to be extant.

³ An. 1212, iii. 241. Cf. p. 247.

gold with which the land was believed to abound.”¹ Accordingly, he set to work to prepare for the invasion with the heartiest good-will, and was well seconded by his nobles. Ships were collected and built, and men were gathered together from all parts.

John, meanwhile, was not idle, and made great preparations to repel the invasion. But, says our simple Flemish historian in his quaint old French, “a very bad man was King John.² . . . He saw that he was excommunicated, and he also saw on the one hand that every man in his kingdom hated him, and on the other that there was coming against him the king of France, who was so strong and powerful that he knew full well that if he landed in his kingdom he could not resist him, because he would bring so many good knights with him. Accordingly, in taking thought, he soon saw that if he could not get help from the Pope, then there was no help for him. He then sent to Rome, and begged the Pope for God’s sake to have pity on him, and to send him one of his trusty clerks, through whose advice he would make amends for all the wrongs he had committed against Holy Church. . . . When the Pope heard this news he was very pleased, and at once sent him one of his clerks, who was called Pandulf.”

John's counter-action, and offer to the Pope, 1212-13

John’s messengers had left England for Rome in November 1212,⁴ to offer to accept the terms which

¹ An. 1213, ii. p. 209. Cf. Will. the Breton, n. 165, and editor’s note 4; and Delisle, *Catal.*, 1437-9.

² “Molt mal homme ot el roi Jehan, crueus estoit sor toz homes.” *Hist. des ducs*, p. 105.

³ *Hist. des ducs*, p. 123. “Il veoit que tout chil de sa tierre le haoient. . . . Et bien vit que, se par l’apostole rescous n’estoit, jà rescous ne seroit. Tantost envia ses messages à Rome, si manda à l’apostole que il pour Diu eunst merci de lui,” etc. Walt. of C., an. 1213, also tells us of the messengers whom John sent to Rome: “in fine anni proximo præteriti Romam adierant,” and of their return with Pandulf. Cf. ep. Inn., xv. 234.

⁴ *Rot. Claus.*, i. p. 126.

Pandulf had offered on his former visit. Naturally, the Pope could not reject a penitent sinner, and, on the other hand, his knowledge of the character and power of Philip cannot have made him desirous of trusting him too far or of too much increasing his influence. Hence he had made his request for his invasion of England dependent upon John's attitude. There was to be no invasion if the king of England repented.¹

Pandulf
again sent
to Eng-
land, 1213.

Accordingly, after the arrival of John's envoys, Innocent wrote to the king to remind him that there was question not merely of the Church of Canterbury, but of the whole Church of England, which the king had been striving to enslave,² and that, as he had formerly rejected the terms offered by Pandulf, he was no longer bound to offer the same favourable terms again. However, if the king will unreservedly accept them before the first of June, he will offer them once more by the hands of the same legate.

When Pandulf landed in England in May, he told the king of the great force which Philip had already assembled at the mouth of the Seine, and that the French king had declared that he had every hope of a successful issue of his enterprise, because he held deeds of submission "from almost all the nobles of England."³ Convinced of the truth of the legate's words, John, "not without pain," swore to be obedient to the sentence of the Church, and "sixteen of the most powerful nobles

¹ Walt. of C., an. 1213, ii. 209. "Scripsit enim Francorum regi Philippo et illarum partium principibus, quod nisi rex Anglorum vel nunc resipisceret, ipsi Angliam in manu forti ab eo liberarent." Roger of Wend., an. 1212, iii. 242, idly pretends that there was something secret about the attitude of the Pope in this matter.

² Ep. xv. 234. "Non agitur tantum de negotio Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ, sed totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, quam impie persequendo niteris ancillare." February 27, 1213.

³ Rog. of W., an. 1213, iii. p. 247. "Jactat se . . . rex chartas habere omnium fere Angliæ magnatum de fidelitate et subjectione."

of the realm swore on the soul of the king himself that, should he repent of his promise, they would to the utmost of their power compel him to fulfil it."¹ Then on May 13, in presence of the legate and of a large concourse of barons and people at Dover, John issued "letters patent sealed with our seal" which exactly repeated the terms of peace laid down by the Pope.² He agreed to grant letters patent "to our lord the Pope" and to the exiled bishops to the effect that he would receive the prelates kindly, and would allow them in peace to fulfil their duties, and would compensate them and all concerned in the quarrel for the losses they had sustained, and in earnest thereof would pay down at once eight thousand pounds "of lawful sterling money." He also agreed never again to pronounce the sentence of outlawry against ecclesiastics,³ and to refer all disputes connected with the question of compensation to the Pope's delegate.

Fear had now taken complete possession of the mean and cowardly heart of King John. The vision of the great armament, now in process of being gathered together by the man who had already deprived him of nearly all his Continental dominions, burnt into his soul. He grew afraid that Philip would take England from him as he had already taken Normandy, and so, to ensure its safety, he decided "on his own account" to hand it over to the Pope, and to hold it from him as his vassal.⁴

John
resigns his
kingdom
into the
hands of
the Pope,
1213.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 248.

² *Ib.* Cf. ep. Inn., xv. 234.

³ "Interdictum vero, Utlagatio vulgariter nuncupatum, quod proponi fecimus contra ecclesiasticas personas, publice revocabimus, protestando . . . id ad nos nullatenus pertinere, quod que illud de cætero contra ecclesiasticas personas nullatenus faciemus proponi." *Ib.* Cf. Walt. of C., ii. 209-10.

⁴ Walt. of C., ii. 210, distinctly says that John made England a vassal kingdom of the Holy See on his own initiative: "Addidit autem hoc *ex suo* quod utrumque regnum suum, Angliam videlicet et Hiberniam, Deo et sanctis App. Petro et Paulo et S. R. E. subjiceret *ex mera voluntate* et ad complementum satisfactionis." Rog. of W.,

Accordingly, two days after he had signed the charter acknowledging Stephen Langton, he signed another (May 15) in presence of Pandulf and "the nobles of the kingdom" in the house of the Knights Templars near Dover. The deed set forth that, to make proper satisfaction for his sins, John, of his own free will (*nostra bona spontaneaque voluntate*), and *by the advice of his barons*,¹ granted to God and to our lord Pope Innocent and his Catholic successors the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and declared that he and his successors would in future hold them of the Popes, and in token of their allegiance to them would henceforth pay one thousand marks a year, exclusive of Peter's Pence.² When this charter had been handed to Pandulf, the king took the usual oath of allegiance to the Pope.³

John now felt at ease; for though, says Walter of indeed, says that John acted in this matter "according to a decree pronounced at Rome." But of this *decree* there is no trace in the papal registers, and the assertion is contradicted both by Walter of C. and John himself. Finally, from Innocent's reply to John's notification to him of his action, it is clear that he had had nothing to do with it; for he asks who but the Holy Spirit could have led John so well to consult both his own interests and those of the Church. Ep. xvi. 79, July 6, 1213. Cf. John's letters to the Pope, *ib.*, xvi. 76-78, and ep. xvi. 131.

¹ Later on (March 1215) the barons maintained to the Pope that John had acted in this matter more by pressure from them than of his own free will. Cf. a letter of John's agent at Rome, ap. Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. p. 120, Record ed.

² Five hundred were to be paid at Michaelmas and five hundred at Easter. *Ib.* "Coactus est timore Dei vel humano, coram nuntiis d. Papæ et comitibus et baronibus, jurare pacem S. ecclesiæ, restaurationem ablatorum omnium pro voluntate d. Papæ; et semetipsum deposuit, et coronam regni tradidit in manus Romanorum, ita tamen ut regnum Anglorum teneret de d. Apostolico, reddendo inde annuatim mille marcas argenti." *Cont. Will. de Novoburgo*, an. 1213, ap. *Chron. of the Reigns of Stephen, etc.*, vol. ii., R. S. Cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. hist.*, xxx. c. 7.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 254-5. Of all these matters John himself gave the Pope the fullest account in three letters of May 13-15, ap. epp. Inn., xvi. 76-78.

Coventry, "what he had done was regarded by many as ignominious," his infeudation of the country was perhaps the only course which could have completely ensured the safety of his territories. When, continues Walter, "he had made his kingdom the patrimony of Blessed Peter, there was no prince in the whole Roman world who, to the injury of the Apostolic See, would have dared to harass or invade it, seeing that Pope Innocent was more generally feared than any of his predecessors for many years."¹ However, to make assurance still more sure, John also took the Cross in order that he might have all the privileges of immunity granted to Crusaders.²

With an instalment of the compensation money which John was to pay to the exiles, Pandulf returned to France, bade them now return to England, and exhorted Philip to give up all thoughts of the invasion of England, as John had submitted and was prepared "to obey the catholic commands of the Pope."³ Considering especially that Philip had only been waiting for an excuse to invade England, it will be readily understood that he listened to this exhortation with but little patience. He angrily pointed out to the legate that it was "at the command of the Pope" that he had taken up the arduous task of preparing for the invasion of England, and that his preparations had already cost him sixty thousand pounds. It was only because at this juncture the powerful count of Flanders refused to follow Philip that the king had, for the time, to give up all thoughts of putting his deep designs into execution.⁴

Pandulf
returns to
France,
1213.

¹ ii. p. 210.

² *Hist. des ducs*, p. 124. "Et si prist le signe de la crois." This he did later in the early months of the year 1215, when his quarrel with his barons was becoming acute. Cf. Rog. of W., iii. 296, and Walt. of C., ii. 219.

³ Roger of W., iii. 256.

⁴ *Ib.* Cf. William, *Chron. Andrensis*, an. 1213, nn. 191 and 193, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. p. 754.

Arrival of
Nicholas,
cardinal-
bishop of
Tusculum,
in England,
Sept. 1213.

When John had notified Innocent regarding his acceptance of the terms proposed by him, and his voluntary surrender of his dominions to papal suzerainty, he had begged him to send a special legate to England with full powers to settle all the difficulties which might arise.¹ In his reply, Innocent, after thanking God for moving the king to accept the terms of peace, and to place his territories under the dominion of the Holy See, continues: "Who but the Holy Spirit of God . . . has been able so to lead you that at one and the same time you should, with such discretion and piety, consult your own interests and provide for the Church."² He informs him then that, in accordance with his request, he is sending him a legate *a latere*, his specially beloved friend Nicholas, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum.

In his letters on the same subject to the barons of England and to the king of France, the Pope exhorted the former to stand by their king, and the latter to follow the legate in his efforts to make peace between England and France.³

(John is
absolved
at Win-
chester.)

About the time that these letters were written, Cardinal Stephen and a number of the exiled bishops returned to England; and, after John had sworn to protect the Church, to restore the laws of Edward the Confessor, to compensate for losses sustained in connection with the interdict, and to be loyally obedient to Pope Innocent and his Catholic successors, he was duly absolved from

¹ Ep. xvi. 79, July 6. Cf. John's letters, xvi. 76-78, May 15.

² xvi. 79. "You will now," continued the Pope, "hold your kingdoms by a more illustrious and solid title than you did before: cum jam sacerdotale signum et sacerdotium sit regale sicut in epistola Petrus et Moyes in lege testantur." Cf. epp. xvi. 80-1, to the cardinal-archbishop and the bishops of England; and 89, to the former, whence it appears that the bishops also wished for a legate *a latere*.

³ Epp. xvi. 82-3, July 1213.

the sentence of excommunication, to the great joy of the people.¹

Though the king had thus been restored to the communion of the Church, England was still under the interdict. It was to arrange the preliminaries regarding the removing of that penalty that Nicholas, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, landed in England in September; and, "although the country was under the interdict, he was everywhere honourably received with solemn processions and with music, and by the people dressed in their holiday clothes."²

A few days after the arrival of the legate, there was held in London, in his presence and in that of the king, a great assembly of the bishops and nobles of the realm. The question of compensation to the clergy was discussed but not finally settled, and then John renewed his surrender of England and Ireland to the Pope by doing homage to the legate, and by presenting him with the charter of homage, not sealed with wax like the one he had presented to Pandulf, but with gold, "for the use of our lord the Pope and the Roman Church."³

Renewal of
the sur-
render of
the king-
dom, 1213.

¹ "Juravit præterea Innocentio P. ejusque catholicis successoribus fidelitatem et obedientiam," etc. Rog. of W., an. 1213, iii. 261. Cf. Walt. of C., ii. 213, who tells us that some, like John of Norwich, who had deliberately held communion with John during the period of his excommunication, had to go to Rome for absolution, and that it was said that they went there also to win from the Pope favours for John, "seeing that he had subjected two kingdoms to the holy Roman Church." The special favours they were said to be seeking were that the "customs of the kingdom" should be observed in ecclesiastical elections; that time should be given the king to pay the indemnity (*ib.*, p. 214, and Coggeshall, p. 167); and that the interdict should be removed. Cf. ep. of Inn., ap. Rog., iii. 282.

² Rog. of W., iii. 274.

³ *ib.* "Prius cera signata . . . nunc auro bullata." Walt. of C. "Ei (Nicholas) vice d. Papæ hominum fecit et ligantiam." Cf. ep. xvi. 131, of November 4, 1213, acknowledging the receipt of this golden bull.

The question of episcopal elections.

Still, however, the interdict was not removed. The question of compensation and that of ecclesiastical elections were not yet settled. John was anxious that "the customs of the realm" should be observed in the matter of the elections, and such bishops at least as the primate Langton were desirous of the full freedom proper to them. The latter question was referred by the legate to the Pope, who sent him the following communication on the subject:¹ "As the Lord's churches cannot be better provided for than when suitable pastors are appointed to them, . . . we . . . bid your fraternity . . . to cause suitable persons to be ordained with your advice, either by election or canonical appointment (*postulationem*), for the bishoprics and abbacies now vacant in England. The candidates must be distinguished both for purity of life and for learning; they must be also loyal to the king, and of use to the kingdom, . . . and the king's assent to their election must be sought (*assensu regio requisito*). Accordingly, when we have enjoined the chapters of the vacant churches to abide by your advice, do you, keeping God before your eyes, take counsel with prudent and honourable men who have a thorough knowledge of the candidates, lest you should be overreached by any one." At the same time he took care to warn the king not to behave contentiously towards his bishops in matters of ecclesiastical law.²

It would seem, however, that Nicholas was scarcely worthy of the confidence placed in him by the Pope. Both Roger of Wendover and Walter of Coventry accuse him of being too favourable to the king.³ Perhaps in

¹ Ep. xvi. 238, where it is dated October 31, 1213. In Roger of W., who quotes it, the date given is November 1.

² Ep. xvi. 130, November 4, 1213.

³ Rog., "Susplicatum est legatum plus æquo parti regiæ consentire," iii. 275. Cf. p. 278. Walter of C., ii. p. 216, and Coggeshall, p. 167.

order to induce the king not to interfere with his own arbitrary conduct in giving vacant parish churches to his own clerics without asking the consent of their patrons, the legate set aside the advice of Archbishop Stephen and the bishops, and, with the aid of the king's agents, appointed, "according to the old evil custom of England," unfit persons to the vacancies "more by force than by canonical election."¹

Indignant at what he regarded as the legate's high-handed conduct, the archbishop appealed to the Pope against him (January 1214).²

Whilst all these disputes were going on, the country was still groaning under the interdict; and at length both the king and Stephen Langton sent envoys to the Pope to point out to him that, if "great loss of property and serious danger to souls" were to be avoided, the interdict should be withdrawn without delay.³ Moved by this joint declaration, Innocent, after consultation with the delegates, prescribed the amount of compensation that the king had to pay to the bishops, and the period in which it had to be paid, and ordered the immediate suspension of the interdict when his terms had been complied with.⁴

On the receipt of this mandate (February 1214), Nicholas summoned the spiritual and temporal magnates of the realm to meet in St. Paul's at London, where the

The Pope orders the withdrawal of the interdict, Dec. 1213.

The termination of the great interdict, June 1214.

¹ Rog., iii. 278; cf. W. of C., *ib.*

² Rog., iii. 278.

³ See Innocent's letter, quoted by Rog., iii. 282; also ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 237. It must have been written about the same time as ep. xvi. 164 on the same subject, *i.e.*, about the end of January 1214, as it was received here in March after John had left England for Poitou in February 1214 (cf. Rog., iii. 283), and it took some fifty days for the journey between Rome and England at this period. Cf. *Rot. Pat.*, p. 111 *b*, ap. Norgate, p. 206.

⁴ Rog., iii. 282. Cf. ep. xvi. 164, January 23, 1214. The Pope also ordered Nicholas, after the withdrawal of the interdict, to destroy his letters against John, and to break up all factions against him. Epp. xvi. 133-4, October 31, 1213.

Pope's decision was explained, and then on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul (June 29) "Nicholas, bishop of Tusculum, legate of the Apostolic See, went to the cathedral church, and there amidst the ringing of bells and the chanting of the 'Te Deum' solemnly revoked the sentence of interdict, which had lasted for six years, three months, and fourteen days."¹

General
unrest in
England.

But the relaxation of the interdict was far from bringing peace to the country. The archbishop and bishops were irritated at the arbitrary conduct of Cardinal Nicholas; the humbler clerical and lay sufferers from John's violent behaviour during the interdict were indignant that no notice had been taken of their right to compensation; and all, both nobles and commoners, were angry at the taxes which John was constantly imposing upon them.²

The subdeacon Pandulf, who had returned to England some time towards the close of the year 1213,³ was sent to Rome on behalf of the king and the legate. According to Roger of Wendover, he vilified the archbishop and bishops and praised the king. The former were, he said, covetous in their demands for compensation, whereas a more humble and moderate king than John he had never seen.⁴ But though he made a good impression on the Pope about the king, Innocent was seemingly not satisfied with regard to Nicholas. At any rate, a sharp reprimand from Innocent brought him back to Rome (c. October 1214), "greatly fearing for his tunic," says Ralph Coggeshall.⁵

¹ Rog., iii. 284.

² Cf. Rog. of W., iii. 284-5; and the Patent and Close Rolls, ad an.

³ He was still in England on January 28, 1214. At any rate, a letter was addressed to him as though he were here on that date by Innocent about Peter's Pence. He complained that he only received 300 marks, whereas the bishops kept back "a thousand marks or more." Ep. xvi. 173.

⁴ An. 1214, iii. 279.

⁵ P. 170. "Dum innotesceret d. Papæ quod insolentiis regiis nimis faveret, et reparandæ libertati ecclesiasticæ minus intenderet, et con-

Meanwhile, in the midst of the general discontent, John had sailed to France (February 1214), in the hope of recovering some of his Continental dominions. He effected little, however, and his allies were hopelessly defeated at Bouvines (July 27, 1214). The Emperor Otho managed to escape; but the earl of Salisbury, and the count of Flanders and many others were taken prisoners. All this fighting among the princes of Europe was most painful to the Pope, who, as we know, had his heart fixed on another Crusade. He therefore made renewed efforts to bring about peace between France and England, and through the agency of the English cardinal, Robert de Courçon (or Curson), a truce for five years was arranged between the two kings.¹

The unrest aggravated by John's failure abroad.

John returned to England cursing his ill fate (October 1214). "Since I became reconciled to God," he cried, "and unhappily subjected myself and my kingdoms to the Church of Rome, nothing has prospered with me."² His ignominious return increased the feeling of discontent with his rule which had been much aggravated by the arbitrary conduct of his justiciar, the foreigner, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester.

As the misunderstandings between the king and the barons, especially those of the north, became more acute, both parties turned to their common suzerain the Pope.³ The barons, moreover, instigated by the archbishop, demanded from John the confirmation of

The barons take action against the king, 1214-15.

sanguineos suos in ecclesiasticis beneficiis avare institueret, per literas d. Papæ correptus, timens valde tunicæ suæ, Romam reverti festinavit." Unfortunately, no letters of Innocent are available to check this statement. Cf. also Walt. of C., ii. p. 217.

¹ See the documents in Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. pp. 123-5; Coggeshall, p. 170; Walt. of C., ii. 216; Rog. of W., iii. 292.

² Rog., *l.c.* Cf. *Annal. Waverl.*, an. 1214.

³ See the report of John's agent, William Mauclerc, to his master, ap. Rymer, *l.c.*, i. p. 120. Cf. Walter of C., ii. 218.

the charter which Henry I. had granted on his accession, and which had proclaimed the freedom of the Church and many liberties for the barons—in short, “the law of King Edward (the Confessor), with the amendments which my father, by the advice of the barons, made in it.”¹

Full of anxiety to keep the peace, Innocent urged the king to deal gently with the barons, and to admit their just requests, while at the same time he urged the barons to be moderate in their dealings with the king (March 1215).² John, however, was obstinate; but so too were the confederates and their chief, Stephen Langton. Convinced it was to be a life-and-death struggle, both parties looked around for allies. The barons approached John’s bitterest enemy, Philip Augustus,³ and John sought to secure the support of the Pope by taking the Cross (March 4),⁴ and by impressing upon him that the insurrection of the barons was the hindrance to his proceeding to the Holy Land.⁵

Matters now came to a head. Rejecting John’s proposal to leave the questions in dispute between them to the arbitration of their mutual “superior” the Pope,⁶ the barons in arms compelled John, in presence of the legate

¹ Rog. of W., iii. 263 ff., 293. On p. 297 f. this royalist historian gives the names of the chief authors “of this pestilence,” as he is pleased to call the union of the barons. Cf. W. of C., *l.c.*, and Coggeshall, p. 170.

² Cf. his letters, ap. Rymer, *Fæd.*, i, p. 127. Cf. Walt. of C., ii. 219. “Ibi [at Oxford] præsentatæ sunt litteræ d. Papæ pro baronibus regi, in quibus monebatur eorum justas audire petitiones.”

³ Coggeshall, p. 172, who says that Philip promised them every support which his truce with John would permit him, and that he actually gave them assistance quite inconsistent with it. We may be sure that Philip had received a “quid pro quo” for this from the barons. Cf. Walter of C., iii. 222.

⁴ “In capite jejunii [Ash Wednesday],” says W. of C., ii. 219.

⁵ Rymer, i. 129, May 29, 1215.

⁶ *Rot. Pat.*, p. 141, ap. Norgate, p. 229.

Pandulf,¹ who had replaced Nicholas, to sign the Magna Carta (June 15, 1215).

Speaking of the king's acceptance of the Great Charter which guaranteed the freedom of the Church (*quod Anglicana Ecclesia sit libera*, c. 1)² and the rights of the people, Ralph Coggeshall says "that as it were a peace was made between the king and the barons."³ It soon proved that the peace was mostly a pretence. The Magna Carta was hardly signed before the barons opposed the king's authority in arms. John was now desperate. He enlisted mercenaries from every quarter; and, in order to strike with the spiritual as well as the temporal sword, he sent off envoys, including Pandulf, post-haste to Rome.⁴

War between the king and the barons.

His agents assured the Pope that a number of barons had rebelled against his vassal King John, and that they had extorted from him concessions which were derogatory

¹ In the preamble of the Carta (ap. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 296 ff.) he appears as one of those by whose *advice* John granted the Charter, and as joined to the archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin for the purpose of issuing letters patent guaranteeing immunity for those who had taken part "in the discord" (c. 62).

² On the legal meaning of the words "*Anglicana ecclesia*," see Mr. A. O'Connor's article in the *Month*, September 1910, p. 244. He shows from the *Statutes of the Realm* that the words refer solely to the clergy of the country, and not to an organised body of the clergy and laity in England. The phrase "*quod Anglicana Ecclesia sit libera*," which was twice repeated in the most prominent places in the Charter, *i.e.*, at the beginning and the end, was not new. With the slight change of "*sancta Dei*" for "*Anglicana*," it had already appeared in the charters of Henry I. and Stephen. The object of the insertion of the clause was to secure the Church from undue State control, especially in the matter of freedom of election, which, already frequently guaranteed by previous kings, had been already granted by John himself on November 21, 1214; and, reaffirmed by him on January 15, 1215, had been confirmed by Innocent on March 20, 1215. See Potthast, n. 4963. Cf. W. S. M'Kechnie, *Magna Carta*, 222 ff., and 565 ff., Glasgow, 1905.

³ P. 172. "*Quasi pax inter regem et barones formata est.*"

⁴ Rog. of W., iii. 319, 321. Cf. *Hist. des ducs*, p. 151. "*Bien vit que jà ne s'en vengeroit, se par la force l'apostole n'estoit. Lors prist ses messages moult celéement, si les envia moult en haste à Rome.*"

to the royal dignity, and which the king averred ought not to have been granted without consultation with the suzerain of the country, the Supreme Pontiff. Despite the king's consequent appeal to Rome, the barons had seized his capital, and were in arms against him. Their conduct was the principal cause which prevented him from proceeding to Palestine.

The envoys then handed the Pope a document in which were contained such articles of the Charter as seemed to tell in favour of the king's assertions,—such, for instance, as those connected with the king's right to scutage.¹

After perusing them, the Pope, we are told, exclaimed : “Are the barons of England endeavouring to drive from his throne a king who has taken the Cross, and who is under the protection of the Apostolic See, and to transfer to another the dominion of the Roman Church? By St. Peter, we cannot pass over this insult without punishing it.”²

Innocent had already, in response to some of John's earlier complaints against the barons, issued a mandate to the bishop of Winchester, the abbot of Reading, and Pandulf, in which he reprimanded “some” of the bishops for not opposing “the disturbers of the kingdom,” and for not protecting the king who had taken the Cross ; and, in order that “all the interests of the Crucified” might not be ruined, he excommunicated all “the disturbers of the king and realm of England,” and laid their lands under an interdict. “In virtue of obedience” the archbishop and his fellow-bishops were ordered to continue to proclaim the papal sentence till the barons submitted.³

¹ Cf. Norgate, *The Minority of Henry III.*, p. 15.

² All this from Roger of W., iii. 323 ; cf. p. 319. These reputed sayings of the Popes must always be received with the greatest reserve unless it is known on what authority they rest. Roger does not say who told him these alleged words of Innocent. They may possibly be merely an invention of one of the king's envoys.

³ This letter, ap. Rog., iii. 336–8, is not dated ; but, as it is addressed

The Pope's decree was, indeed, notified to the barons on August 26;¹ but, as the archbishop refused to take any steps to enforce it till he had himself seen the Pope, it remained a dead letter,² though Stephen Langton himself was suspended by the papal commissioners for his refusal.³

Innocent was very much moved by the story which John's ambassadors poured into his ears. Considering that the barons' conduct had slighted his authority as suzerain, and naturally predisposed to favour authority, especially where that authority was represented by a vassal king,⁴ he took John's part, and condemned not so much the Charter itself, but "chiefly the means used to obtain it." On August 24 he issued an encyclical which he forwarded to the English king. It set forth that if John had sinned greatly he had made great atonement. He had subjected his kingdom to the Apostolic See, and had taken the Cross. But now he was being "attacked by those who had stood by him whilst he was offending against the Church." The letter went on to point out that the Pope had previously urged the barons to make their demands in a proper way, and the king to give a favourable ear to their just petitions. But the barons, acting "as judge and executioners in their own cause," had taken up arms against their king; seized his capital; refused his offer "to do them justice in presence of us

among others to Pandulf (who left England about the middle of September), and as it was shown to the bishops at Oxford in the middle of August (*cf.* Will. of C., ii. 223), it must have been written before the signing of the Charter. W. of C., ii. 224-5, gives the date of Pandulf's departure.

¹ Walt. of C., ii. 224.

² Some declared, wittily at least, that the excommunication must be meant for the king, as he was the chief disturber of the realm, and his own worst enemy. *Ib.* *Cf.* Reiner, *Annales*, an. 1216, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. 674.

³ Rog. of W., iii. 340; W. of C., ii. 224-5.

⁴ Hence William the Breton, an. 1216, n. 217, speaks of him as "Anxius de succurrendo regi Anglie, vassallo suo."

to whom the decision of this matter belonged by right of dominion"; disregarded the rights of a Crusader, and forced him to sign an agreement derogatory to his position. "We, therefore, by the general advice of our brethren," condemn the agreement, and forbid its observance.¹

In a letter of the same date to the barons, the Pope blamed them in the matter of their dealings with the king for not having given greater heed to their "oath of fealty, to the right of the Apostolic See, and to the privileges granted to those who have taken the Cross." Hence he condemned the Charter "chiefly on account of the means used to obtain it,"² and exhorted them to make reparation to the outraged majesty of the king. He trusted the king would then "of his own accord make such concessions as he ought to make"; and he promised that he would himself urge him to make them "in order that under our dominion the kingdom of England may not be oppressed by evil customs and unjust exactions." Warning them, as the event proved most truly, that, if they did not follow his advice, they would fall into difficulties from which they would not be easily able to extricate themselves, he urged them to trust their cause to him, and to send representatives to the General Council which he had summoned; and he assured them that he would so arrange matters that abuses in the country should be done away with, so that the king should be contented with his lawful rights, and that "both the clergy and all the people should enjoy peace and freedom."³

¹ Ap. Rog. of W., iii. 323 ff. Cf. Will. the Breton, n. 214. "Johannes . . . impetravit a Papa pacem pro nulla haberi, et super juramento prestito dispensari cum ipso."

² He denounces "illa compositio qualis qualis . . . merito ab omnibus reprobanda, *maxime propter modum*." *Ib.*, p. 328.

³ "Nos ea . . . statuemus per quæ, gravaminibus et abusibus de regno Angliæ prorsus exclusis, rex suo sit jure et honore contentus, et

But the barons, most of them at least, were determined, come weal come woe, to manage the dispute in their own way, and dire to the country were the consequences of their resolution. They were not ready for war, nor were they united. Some of them, including William the Marshal, earl of Pembroke, the most worthy knight of his age, stood by the king, as they held that the barons had not observed the terms "of the peace," and they were not prepared to go the length of deposing John.¹ England was now ravaged with civil war. The king's mercenaries harried the unhappy land in the most merciless manner; and the rebellious barons were forced to beg Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, to come and reign over them (c. October 1215).²

The barons invite Louis of France to reign over them, 1215.

Although the French king went through the farce of nominally discountenancing his son's acceptance of the barons' offer, he not only did not place any obstacle in the way of his accepting it, but favoured his enterprise in every way. Accordingly, the young prince accepted the invitation, and began at once to send troops to London, which had declared for the barons (November).³

Meanwhile, Stephen Langton, still under the sentence of suspension, and other English bishops were making their way to Rome to take part in the Lateran Council which Innocent had summoned to meet in November. Among the many important matters discussed at this great diet of Christendom was that of the dispute between *tam clerus quam populus universus debita pace ac libertate lætetur.*" *Ib.*, p. 329. Cf. *Hist. des ducs*, p. 152.

The affair of John and his barons at the Lateran Council, 1215.

¹ W. of C., ii. 225.

² *Ib.*; Rog., iii. 359; Will. the B., n. 214. They promised Louis the kingdom "en boine pais," says the author of *Hist. des ducs*, p. 160. See also the thirteenth-century Chron. of the mayors of London: "Barones miserunt pro Lodowyco . . . ut veniret eis in auxilium. . . . Et similiter et eodem modo fecerunt Londonienses." An. 1215, p. 202; cf. p. 4, ap. *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, ed. Camden Soc.

³ Will. the Breton, n. 214; W. of C., ii. 228.

John and his barons. The king's agents made out a strong case against the archbishop. They accused him of being the mainstay of the barons in their attempt to drive the king from his throne, and told the Pope that his commissioners had been compelled to suspend Stephen because he would not enforce the papal excommunication of the rebellious barons.¹ According to Roger of Wendover, the cardinal was so overwhelmed by the manner in which the charges against him were set forth, that he could do nothing but ask for the removal of his suspension. Whereupon he says the Pope *is reported* to have exclaimed: "By St. Peter, brother, you will not easily obtain absolution from the sentence, seeing that you have wrought so much harm both on the king of the English, and also on the Roman Church."² At any rate, by a formal document published on November 4, Innocent renewed the sentence.³ He also further favoured the king not only by refusing to confirm the election of Simon, Stephen's brother, as archbishop of York, but by endorsing the translation to that see of Walter de Gray, bishop of Worcester, a man acceptable to the king.⁴ Moreover, "despite the opposition of many," says William the Breton, he excommunicated the barons and their supporters;⁵ and lest, by being general, the excommunication might again become a dead letter, he issued a mandate to the abbot of Abingdon and others ordering them to cause it to be proclaimed throughout all England

¹ Rog. of W., iii. 344-5; Walt. of C., ii. 228. "Incentor esset hujus tumulti," was their description of Stephen.

² *Ib.* "Papa cum indignatione tale fertur dixisse responsum."

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 346.

⁵ N. 216; W. of C., *ib.* See especially ep. Inn., December 16, 1215, ap. *R. F. S.S.*, xix. 599. "Nos nuper, in generali concilio constituti, excommunicavimus et anathematizavimus . . . barones Angliæ cum adjutoribus et fautoribus suis." Also ap. Rymer, *Fædera*, i. Cf. Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, *Chron.*, ap. *M. G. S.S.*, xxiii. 904.

that the earl of Winchester and many others whom he named individually were excommunicated, as were also "those citizens of London who were the chief promoters" of the rebellion against their king (December 16, 1215).¹

On receipt of this injunction the abbot of Abingdon caused the excommunication of the barons to be duly proclaimed throughout all England,² and his injunctions were generally obeyed (c. February 1216). But in London no heed was paid to the sentence, and clergy and barons alike appealed against it on the ground that it had been obtained by false representations. Some even said that the management of lay affairs did not pertain to the Pope.³

Although the revocation by Innocent of the suspension of Cardinal Langton⁴ may show that he was gradually beginning to take a different view of John and the archbishop, he did not alter his course, but did all he could in John's interest. In the spring of the year (1216), he despatched to France Gualo, cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Portico.⁵ On his arrival the legate's first care was to place in the hands of Philip (April 25) the Pope's letters,⁶ in which he urged him to prevent his son from invading England, which now belonged "by right of dominion" to the Holy See. To this Philip replied

Proclamation throughout England of the excommunication of the barons, 1216.

Further action of Innocent. The legate Gualo sent to France and England, 1216.

¹ Rog. of W., iii. 353 ff.; Ralph Cogg., p. 179. The City of London was also placed under an interdict.

² *Ib.*, p. 356. ³ *Ib.*, p. 357, and pp. 361-2; Ralph Cogg., p. 179.

⁴ Rog., p. 360. This took place about February, whilst Stephen was still in Rome. He agreed to abide by the decision of the Pope on the dispute, and not to return to England till peace was secured between the king and the barons: "Data cautione quod staret iudicio d. Papæ de rebus superius expressis," etc. Cf. W. de C., *l.c.*

⁵ His real name seems to have been Guala. Contemporary historians spell his name in many different ways, but our modern historians seem agreed to call him Gualo. See Berton, *Dict. des Card.*, *sub voce* Galon. Cf. *supra*, p. 104 f.

⁶ Cf. Potthast, 5134, 5138.

that by the murder of Arthur John had forfeited his kingdom, and therefore could not give away what was not his. Besides, even if he had not forfeited his kingdom, he could not arbitrarily give it to the Pope or to any one else without the consent of his barons—a proposition which was justly loudly applauded by the assembled barons of France.¹ Although Gualo forbade Louis to invade England under penalty of excommunication, he made as little impression on the son as he had made on the father. He could obtain no more than a declaration from Philip that he had always been “faithful and devoted to the Pope and the Roman Church,” that he would not help his son against them, and that he would give the cardinal himself a safe-conduct on his way to England through his dominions, but could not be responsible if, when he left them, he fell into the hands of his son’s men.²

Louis
lands in
England,
May 1216.

After the break-up of this abortive conference, Louis, having obtained his father’s “permission and blessing,” despatched envoys to Rome to plead his cause by words, and hurried to his fleet to plead it in England by the sword. He landed on our shores on May 21, and was soon in London.³

He is ex-
communi-
cated by
Gualo and
the Pope.

Meanwhile, he had been followed by Gualo, who contrived to slip through the troops of Louis, and landed safely in England at Romney. The king, we are told, “received him with great pleasure, and rested all his hopes of being able to oppose his enemies on him.”⁴

¹ Rog. of W., iii. 363 f.

² *Ib.*, p. 365. Cf. Will. the Bret., n. 217, and Will. of C., ii. p. 229.

³ Rog., iii. 367 ff.; *Chron. Maiorum*, p. 202.

⁴ Rog., iii. 369. Cf. *Hist. des ducs*, p. 168 f. “Et quant li rois encontra le legaut, qui jà estoit viermaus vestis et chevaugoit blanc palefroï, moult li fist grant joie. Teus est la coustume des legaus de Rome que, quant il passent mer, il doivent estre ensi faitement atourné comme l’apostoles est, de viestments et de chevaucheur.”

A few days later the legate, rejoining the king at Winchester, and meeting a number of the English bishops and clergy who had come thither at his summons, solemnly excommunicated Louis by name with all his abettors (May 29).¹

Of this excommunication the baronial party affected to take no notice. They had appealed, they said, in Louis' behalf. Whilst, therefore, the fighting continued in England, the envoys of the French prince were pleading his cause before the Pope. Roger of Wendover has fortunately preserved for us some of their interesting communications to their master. Writing "to their most excellent lord the first-born of the king of the French," they inform him that they waited on the Pope on Sunday *ad mensem Paschæ* (i.e., on May 8, the Sunday four weeks after Easter, April 10), and found him in good spirits, but not favourably disposed to their master. Moreover, continued the envoys, on a second visit, after we had stated our case,² he said much in the way of blame of your conduct, but added: "Woe is me, seeing that in this matter the Church of God cannot escape trouble. If the king of England is conquered, we are concerned because he is our vassal, and we are bound to protect him; and if your lord Louis is conquered, then in his misfortune the Church of Rome is injured, . . . for we have ever considered that in all its necessities he would be its arm, and in all difficulties and persecutions its solace and its refuge." The envoys closed their communication by observing that they are awaiting Ascension Day (May 19) in the hope of preventing any decree being issued against him; for, they

¹ Walt. of C., p. 230; *Annal. Winton.*, an. 1216; *Hist. des ducs*, p. 170, and Rog., *l.c.*

² The discussion of the points against John and in favour of Louis is given by Rog., iii. p. 373.

said, the Pope is then wont to renew his sentences, and he had himself told them that he was awaiting the arrival of messengers from Gualo.¹

Whether or not Innocent awaited the arrival of communications from Gualo, it is certain that he lived long enough to excommunicate "Louis and some of his counsellors by name and also all such in general as made war on his vassal the king of England."² But the day was close at hand when the lord Pope Innocent was no longer able to give his powerful help to his vassal, and when that vassal was incapable of receiving it. The former died in the July of this year, and the latter some three months later (October 18-19). With regard to the former we may say with William the Breton, whose misplaced patriotism or sycophancy induced him rather to rejoice than grieve over Innocent's death, "May He whose place he filled on earth have mercy on his soul."³ And with regard to the latter, we have no hesitation in adding with our worthy fellow-citizen who compiled the Chronicle of London's mayors well over six centuries ago: "He perpetrated many evil deeds and atrocious cruelties of which no mention is made in this book."⁴

¹ Ep. ap. Rog., iii. 371-2.

² Will. the Bret., nn. 217 and 219. Cf. a fragment of the last book of Innocent's Register, now lost, ap. *P. L.*, t. 216, p. 994. Will. also says that when death overtook him the Pope was preparing to excommunicate Philip himself, even if he had not already done so. Cf. nn. 218 and 219.

³ *Ib.*, n. 220.

⁴ *Chron. maiorum*, p. 202. It may have been observed that in our account of Innocent's relations with England we have not, contrary to the custom of some writers, relied much on Matthew Paris. The reason is that his authority on this period is not comparable to that of the contemporaries we have quoted, and, as Luchaire notes (vol. v., *Royaumes*, p. 231 n.), he has a habit of exaggerating when there is question of Rome and the Papacy, which he did not love. On *The Pope and the Magna Charter*, see also the *Miscellanies*, vol. ii., of Card. Manning. In W. Nevin's *England and the Holy See*, ch. v., translations of certain bulls of Innocent will be found.

II. IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.

Even in the extant Register of Innocent there are three hundred letters dealing with the affairs of England.¹ It will therefore be obvious that we are far from having exhausted the subject of his relations with our country. We, however, must now pass on, leaving it to the specialist to speak at greater length of the intercourse between England and Rome in the days of Innocent.

In reviewing the history of "Rome and Ireland" during the same period, there is no event striking enough to demand our attention with the same insistence as did, say, the divorce question of Philip Augustus in France or the affair of the Magna Carta in England. Still, if not in any sense dramatic, the influence of Innocent on Ireland was important and continuous. We find him, for instance, occupied in developing the important see of Dublin by granting it privileges.² Among other favours which he bestowed on that rising see was to attach to it the old see of Glendalough with its revenues. This he did because he was assured that, though "the church in the mountains (Glendalough) was held in great reverence . . . on account of St. Keywvyn, who lived as a hermit there, it had for nearly forty years become so deserted and desolate as to be used as a den for robbers, where more homicides were committed than in any other part of Ireland (1215)."³

¹ Pearson's *Index*, p. 79. Though this number would seem to include those addressed to Ireland and Scotland, nevertheless far the greater number of them concerned England.

² Cf. Brennan, *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, p. 286, and Malone, *A Ch. Hist. of I.*, p. 224.

³ *Catal. Christ Church Deeds*, n. 20, quoted by Orpen, *Ireland*, i. 73. See also Brennan, *ib.*, p. 287 f. Cf. ep. vii. 36, for privileges to the prior of St. Andrew's in Ards, Co. Down; ii. 17, 32; vii. 145; xiii. 43, to Donatus, the archbishop of Cashel, to whom the pallium is sent; xiii. 79, 95; xv. 133, to the Hospitallers in Ireland.

Nothing very striking in the history of "Rome and Ireland."

Innocent's
exertions
for freedom
of elections.

But Innocent's principal work in connection with Ireland was for the reform of abuses. With this end in view, he was ever striving to promote the freedom of episcopal elections, and ecclesiastical discipline generally.

The see of
Tuam.

We are informed by Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Itinerary through Wales*¹ that "many churches in Ireland and Wales have a lay abbot." This abuse, he tells us, arose from the appointing of powerful patrons to protect the churches. In process of time these protectors seized the possessions of the churches for themselves, and handed them on to their children. "Such defenders or rather destroyers of the Church have caused themselves to be called abbots, and presumed to attribute to themselves a title as well as estates to which they have no just claim." In Ireland, unfortunately, this abuse was not confined to abbeys. The see of Armagh, for instance, had become the hereditary possession of a family who held it for some fifteen generations.² Eight married men, "*without orders (absque ordinibus)*," had held the see in succession before Celsus, the predecessor of St. Malachy, the friend of St. Bernard.³

To correct these abuses in the Irish Church, Innocent sent to Ireland in 1201 John of Salerno, cardinal of S. Stefano Rotondo on the Cœlian. The cardinal soon had occasion to report to the Pope that the particular enormity of which we have just spoken was still common in Ireland, and he informed the Pope of certain efforts which he had made to put it down. In reply he received a letter to the following effect.⁴ His letters had made it clear to the Pope that "among the other enormities

¹ L., ii. c. 4.

² St. Bernard *in vit. Malachiæ*, c. 10. "Nec parum processerat execranda successio, decursis jam in hac malitia quasi generationibus quindecim."

³ *Ib.*

⁴ This letter, v. 158, February 20, 1203, is one of those which were found and published by Delisle. This letter is printed on pp. 402-3.

which he had found in the Irish churches" was "the detestable abuse of sons succeeding to their fathers, not merely in the minor prelacies but even in the archbishoprics and bishoprics, and especially in the church of Tuam and other parts." John had further informed the Pope, so continued the letter, that the archbishop of Tuam had died just before his arrival, and that he had found the see occupied by the nephew of the late archbishop, who had consecrated him in order that he might succeed to the see, which had been already held by his grandfather and great-grandfather.¹ The legate had, "with difficulty," expelled the new bishop, and caused the suffragans to elect unanimously, on his nomination, Felix O'Ruadan, abbot of Sabhul or Saul.² The archbishop-elect, on account of the disturbed state of the country, was unable to go to Rome in person for his pallium, and therefore the cardinal-legate had begged the Pope to send it. "We therefore," continued the Pope, "moved by your request, and anxious to save the elect trouble, and the church of Tuam expense, have sent the pallium to you . . . to be given to him according to the form we have set forth in the bull we have herewith enclosed to you."

Very soon after he landed in Ireland the legate held synods for the reform of morals in Dublin and in Connaught.³ With the king of Connaught Innocent was frequently in communication,⁴ writing to him especially on the subject of freedom of election. Towards the close of his life even, he addressed him a letter urging him to

Synods in
Dublin and
in Con-
naught,
1201.

¹ "Nam avus et proavus regimen habuerant ecclesie Tuamensis."

² Near Down. Founded by St. Patrick.

³ It was perhaps in one of these synods that the cardinal set aside a law which a knight, Henry de Say, alleged had been brought in by the English to the effect that a donation made by an Irishman to a religious house was void if the king were afterwards to grant it to an Englishman. Cf. ep. Inn., viii. 74, May 27, 1205.

⁴ Cf. ep. iii. 5, and i. 164.

cause the decrees of the General Council of the Lateran to be observed, and especially to oppose "the great numbers in your kingdom who, as we have heard, blinded by the darkness of avarice, are striving to gain possession of the sanctuary of God by hereditary right."¹

Innocent's
intervention (a) in
episcopal
elections ;

The reader will be able to form an idea of Innocent's active work to secure freedom of episcopal election in Ireland, if we simply state that he intervened, to a greater or less degree and for one reason or another, in the elections to the sees of Raphoe,² Ross,³ Leighlin,⁴ Armagh,⁵ Ardferf,⁶ Emly,⁷ and Lismore.⁸

(b) in other
matters.

Innocent's beneficial influence made itself felt in other directions also. If on the one hand his sense of justice and knowledge of law compelled him to exhort the Irish bishops to take greater care in coming to their legal decisions,⁹ he did not hesitate to stand by them even against the king when they were in the right.¹⁰

As in other countries so too in Ireland, Innocent endeavoured to lessen the evils of war;¹¹ and, moreover, as in other countries so also in Ireland did he support the movement in favour of the regular payment of tithes ; for in that country the systematic payment of tithes had hitherto not been one of the ordinary means for the support

¹ Published by Hampe, *Aus verlorn. Regist.*, p. 564 f.

² Ep. 177.

³ i. 364.

⁴ i. 366, 367, ii. 230. This affair brought him into collision with John, count of Mortain, afterwards King John of England. Cf. Brennan, p. 281, and Malone, p. 89 f., who by mistake calls John's official Valois de Hamois instead of Hamo de Valon.

⁵ Malone, p. 106 ; Brennan, p. 282. ⁶ Ep. iii. 42. ⁷ Ep. xiii. 195.

⁸ Epp. vi. 161, 2. Cf. xv. 141. Felix of Lismore resigned his see into the hands of Cardinal John.

⁹ Potthast, n. 5238.

¹⁰ Epp. vi. 63, 64 ; vii. 171, for his defence of the archbishop of Dublin against King John. Cf. D'Alton, *The Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 78 f., Dublin, 1838.

¹¹ Ep. viii. 114. Cf. Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, p. 275 ff.

of the clergy. At the synod of Cashel (1172) it had been decided that "all good Christians do pay tithes of beasts, corn, and other produce to their parish church."¹ However, at the synod of Dublin in 1186, Giraldus Cambrensis declared that "as yet tithes were not paid,"² and so that synod renewed the decrees regarding the payment of tithes.³ Still there were difficulties in the way of payment, and the archbishop of Dublin, Henry of London, wrote to Innocent to complain of the non-payment of certain tithes at least. In his reply to the archbishop (July 30, 1214), the Pope said: "You have intimated to us that most people backed by laical power refuse to pay the tithes of fruits, of the fodder for animals, of mills, and of their labour; that others pay not to the cathedral churches, unless to those whom they like best, and as much as they please. On which account, in compliance with a request you humbly made us, we order the payment of tithes."⁴ This decree would appear to have settled the question, for the *Annals of the Four Masters* state that in 1224 "the tithes were legally gathered."⁵

SCOTLAND.

A glance at the *Calendar of Papal Letters*⁶ will show that Innocent's relations with the Church of Scotland were

¹ Can. 3, ap. Girald. Camb., *Expug. Hib.*, i. 33-4.

² *De rebus a se gestis*, c. 14, i. p. 68, R. S. On this very lively synod see also *ib.*, c. 13.

³ Malone, p. 186. Cf. p. 143 ff., and Brennan, p. 290; Hefele, *Conc.*, vii. p. 522 f.

⁴ From Malone, p. 143 f., citing Alan's *Registry*, T. C. D., or Potthast, n. 4936, citing Butler, *Regist. prior. SS.*, p. 110.

⁵ Ap. Malone, p. 144.

⁶ Vol. i., ed. Bliss. For privileges of various kinds, see pp. 2, 5, 28-9; for settlement of cases of conscience, p. 6; for mandates, e.g., p. 9, to bishops and other prelates in the realm of Scotland not to excommunicate, suspend, or interdict the abbot and brethren of Kelcho (Kelso). Cf. also pp. 12, 16, 28-29; and for episcopal elections, p. 30.

in all respects similar to those which he had with the Churches of England and Ireland. To avoid monotony, notice of these relations may therefore for the most part be omitted here, and our attention confined to one or two more exceptional points.

A legate in
Scotland.

We may note, for instance, that to Scotland as elsewhere Innocent sent not only letters, but a legate in order to bring his authority more home to the people. Cardinal John of Salerno, whom we have seen in Ireland, visited Scotland on his way to that country, and held a synod at Perth in which he issued a number of decrees (1201).¹ Among "the many decrees which had to be observed," only one rather curious one has been preserved. It is one suspending such priests as had been ordained on a Sunday,² as Alexander III. had forbidden any bishop other than the Pope to ordain on a Sunday.³ Before the legate proceeded to Ireland "throwch Gallway," he went to Melrose, where he "was honourably received." He remained there for "more than fifty nights," chiefly to settle a dispute, apparently about boundaries, between the monks of Kelso and those of Melrose. The chronicle of the latter monastery, perhaps because judgment was not given in favour of Melrose, declares that the legate

1 "A thowsand twa hundyr yhere & ane
Fra Jhesu Cryst had manhed tane,
Jhon off Salerne, Preyst Cardynale,
Commendyt a lord wërtuale,
A latere than Legate come
In Scotland fra the Court off Rome.
And at Perth dayis thre
A gret Cownsale than held he."

Prior Wyntoun (†1426), *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, L. vii. c. 8, vol. iii. p. 222, ed. Laing. Cf. *Chron. de Mailros*, and *de Lanercost*, an. 1201. "Multa constituit observanda."

² Fordun, *Scotichron.*, viii. c. 62.

³ "In a rescript addressed to the bishop of Bath in 1163." Bellesheim, *Hist. of the Cath. Church of Scotland*, i. 331.

gave "satisfaction to neither party," but, after receiving numerous gifts in gold and silver, went off, leaving the dispute "much as he found it."¹

Though Hadrian IV., when he granted Henry II. permission to take over the government of Ireland, insisted that he should order the payment of Peter's Pence in that country, still the Popes do not appear to have claimed that tax from Ireland, as it was never established there by lawful authority. But the case was different in the Orkneys. Harald, earl of Orkney, had, in atonement for his sins, ordered the payment to Rome of one penny from every house in the county of Caithness. This had been duly collected in the days of Pope Alexander by Andrew, bishop of Caithness; but his successor, John, had presumed to forbid the payment of the tax. Innocent accordingly ordered the bishops of Orkney and Ross to compel their brother bishop to do his duty.² What was the final issue of John's contumacy as far as the Pope was concerned does not seem to be known; but in so far as he himself was concerned it was very serious. The earl's men dreadfully mutilated the unfortunate bishop by cutting out his tongue, as we learn from a letter in which Innocent records the severe penance he inflicted upon the man who, on compulsion as he declared, had done the dreadful deed.³

In the preceding narrative we have had occasion frequently to record the sending of a blessed golden rose by different Popes to certain princes who had deserved well of the Church. The rose was, as we have seen, blessed in Lent. Later on, the Popes blessed on Christmas Eve a cap and a sword, and sent these also as presents to favoured princes. The design of these

Peter's
Pence from
Caithness.

The cap
and sword.

¹ *Chron.*, an. 1202.

² Ep. i. 218.

³ Ep. v. 79, an. 1201. Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. pt. i. p. 250 f.; *Cal. of P. Reg.*, ii. 484; and Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland*, p. 233, Glasgow, 1912.

ornaments, like that of the rose, varied somewhat, but in general the caps were of velvet trimmed with ermine, adorned with pearls, and bound round with a gold cord. On the top there was sometimes a dove to represent the spirit of wisdom. They were of various colours, purple, grey, or crimson, as the case might be. Though not a single one of these caps, which have been confused with our sovereigns' caps "of maintenance" (or "of liberty," as they are occasionally called), appears to be extant, the state sword of Scotland, which was sent by Julius II. to King James IV., is one of these specially blessed swords. At state functions the cap was often carried on the point of the sword before their owner.

There is considerable doubt as to when these gifts, emblematical of the civil and military defence of the faith, were first presented. It has been held that Boniface VIII. was the first to bless a sword and send it as a gift; and it is certain that in the *Ordo Romanus* (xiv.) of Cardinal Cajetan Stefaneschi, drawn up about the year 1320, there is special mention of the investing of any royal personage who might be present at the Pope's Mass on Christmas night with a sword and cap.¹ Moreover, according to Ciaconius,² Urban VI., when on his way from Genoa to Rome, "gave the cap and sword" to Fortiguerra, the Gonfaloniere of the republic of Lucca (1385).

In connection with these facts, we may add that one of our own historians, Adam of Usk, gives us an interesting piece of personal experience: "On Christmas Day" (1404), he writes, "I was present at the papal Mass and banquet

¹ *Ord.*, c. 67, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1182. The clerics are instructed: "et cingunt ei [the emperor or king] ense, . . . ponunt sibi super caput pileum, et ipse inclinat ad papam, et petit Benedictionem, et legit lectionem sibi prædictis astantibus; qua lecta ducunt sic indutum cum pileo super caput ense extracto in manu ad osculum pedis papæ."

² *Vit. RR. Pont.*, i. 994, ed. Rome, 1630.

. . . together with others, my fellow-auditors and officers. And, in the first Mass, at the right horn of the altar was placed a sword adorned with gold, bearing on its upright point a cap with two labels (lappets) like a bishop's mitre, for this purpose: that the emperor, if present, holding the naked sword, should read, as deacon, as having been anointed, the gospel: 'There went out a decree from Cæsar,' and should have the same sword from the Pope for himself. But, owing to the absence of the emperor, a cardinal-deacon read the gospel, and the Pope delivered the sword to the count of Malepella (?), as being the most noble then present."¹

The sword and cap were presented at the end of the Mass with the words: "Receive this sword and be a defender of the faith and of the Holy Roman Church, in the name of the Father, etc." The recipient then kissed the Pope's hand and foot, and straightway handed the sword to one of his followers so that it might be carried before him.²

The cap and sword appear to have been sent for the last time to any ruler of this country in the year 1555. In that year, after a golden rose had been sent to Queen Mary by Julius III., he sent to her husband, Philip of Spain, the sword and cap.

If, however, we can trust so late a chronicler as Holinshed, the cap and sword were given as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century. "About the year 1202," says that chronicler,³ "the Pope (Innocent III.)

¹ *Chron.*, p. 218, ed. with translation by E. M. Thompson, London, 1876.

² Burchard, *Liber Notarum*, ad an. 1487, ap. *R. F. SS.*, vol. xxxii. pt. i., p. 175, new ed.

³ P. 304, quoted p. 9 n., by Sir C. G. Young, Garter King-at-Arms, from whose scarce pamphlet, *Ornaments and Gifts consecrated by the Roman Pontiffs* (privately printed in 1860), we have taken most of the above. See also Dowling, "The Gifts of a Pontiff," in the *Dublin*

sent a legate to King William (the Lion) of Scotland, presenting him with a sword, with a sheath and hilts, set full of precious stones. He presented unto him also a hat or bonnet made in the manner of a diadem of purple hue, in token (it should mean) that he was Defender of the Church."

Review, 1894, p. 61 ff. Hurter, *Inn. III.*, ii. 674, supposes that Innocent sent the cap and sword to William.



A Golden Bulla of Frederick II, Emperor and King of Sicily.
The reverse shows Roma, the capital of the world.

CHAPTER III.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Sources.—The most important Spanish authorities are the learned and warlike don Rodrigo Ximenes de Rada, archbishop of Toledo (†1247), who fought at the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, and Lucas, bishop of Tuy (†1250). The former wrote *De rebus Hispaniæ*, in nine books, and brought his work to a conclusion in 1243. We have used the edition of Bel, *Rerum Hispanicarum Scriptores*, i. p. 150 ff., Frankfort, 1579. Don Gonzalo de la Hinojosa, bishop of Burgos (†1327), published in the dialect of Castile a *Crónica de España*, which up to the year when Rodrigo's history closes (*c.* 1241) is practically a translation of the archbishop's work. The bishop then continued the history to his own time, and his work was in turn brought down to the year 1454 by an anonymous continuator. His translation has been published in vol. cv. of the *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (Madrid, 1893), and the continuations in vol. cvi. The Latin chronicle of the deacon Lucas (†1249), afterwards bishop of Tuy in Galicia, reaching to the year 1236, covers the same ground as that of Rodrigo, to whom he was personally known, but contains many items of information not included in his friend's narrative. It may be read at the beginning of vol. iv. of A. Schott, *Hispania illustrata*, Frankfort, 1603 ff. In vols. xiv. and xxiii. of Florez, *España Sagrada*, Madrid, 1747 ff., are a number of jejune chronicles which throw some little light on this period. Compiled from these and other less valuable sources is the *Crónica General de España*, which bears the name of Alfonso X., el Sabio (1252–84), as that monarch is generally thought to have ordered its compilation. With its continuation to 1289, it has recently been well edited by R. M. Pidal, Madrid, 1906; but it appears doubtful whether the existing text is really that of the original *Crónica* or not. It is

supposed, indeed, by some recent writers to be itself a compilation from a debased text of the original which was drawn up in 1344. Cf. a paper by J. Fitzmaurice Kelly, on "Some Early Spanish Historians," in the *Transactions of the English Historical Society*, 1907. We have already quoted the autobiography (written in Catalan) of Jayme I., king of Aragon, and translated into English by J. Forster, 2 vols., London, 1883.

Modern Works.—In addition to Dunham, Burke-Hume, De la Fuente, Altamira, Rosseeuw St. Hilaire, and M'Murdo, frequently quoted in preceding volumes on Spanish and Portuguese affairs, Comte de Puymaigre, *Les vieux auteurs Castellans*, second series, ch. ii. (Paris, 1890), may also be consulted. A full bibliography of Spanish history will be found in the *Revista de Aragon*, April 1905 ff. It is the work of G. Desdevises de Dezert.

CONTEMPORARY SPANISH SOVEREIGNS.

ARAGON.	CASTILE.	LEON.
Pedro II., 1196–1213.	Alfonso (III.) VIII., 1158–1214.	Alfonso IX., 1188–1230.
Jayme I. (The Conqueror), 1213–1276.	Henry (Enrique) I., 1214–1217.	
	St. Fernando III., ¹ 1217–1252.	
NAVARRRE.	PORTUGAL.	
Sancho VI., 1194–1234.	Sancho I., 1185–1211.	
	Alfonso II., 1211–1223.	

The
Iberian
peninsula.

WHEN Innocent III. became Pope, far the greater part of the Iberian peninsula had been recovered from the Moslems. The Christian portion was divided into the kingdoms of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Portugal, and the small kingdom of Navarre. The extreme south was in the hands of the African dynasty of the Almohades, who ruled it by a Vali sent from Morocco. But, despite the great victory of Almanzor at Alarcos (near Calatrava, in New Castile) over Alfonso (III.) VIII. of Castile, the Moorish power in Spain was drawing rapidly near its termination.

¹ After 1230 he was king of Leon also.

Had it not been for the rivalries, ecclesiastical and civil, that distracted the Christians, Innocent III. would have lived to see its close. As it was, his devoted efforts to foster peace and unity among the Christian rulers, and to procure help for them from abroad, led to the glorious Christian victory of the Navas de Tolosa (1212), which broke for ever the Moselm power in Spain.

It would be impossible for us to deal with all the relations between Innocent and Spain, and there is the less need to do so because, as we observed in the case of Scotland, most of them were similar to those which he had with other nations. There were the usual cases, matrimonial and clerical,¹ on which he had to adjudicate, and the ordinary appeals to which he had to listen. Our attention must therefore be confined to the more important events and to the more exceptional people.

Perhaps the most striking figure in Spain at this period was the bold and energetic Pedro II. of Aragon. He stands out prominently for his success in war, and for his final failure in it,² for his submission to Innocent, and even for his ultimate opposition, at least to that Pope's policy.

Pedro's territory was already tributary to the Holy See. In 1091, Raymond Berenger II. had subjected the county of Barcelona to the Holy See.³ This county Pedro had in-

¹ The author of the *Gesta Inn.*, c. 42, tells us of the great disputes ("ut super eis magni essent hinc inde libri conscripti") between the archbishops of Compostela and Braga as to their respective rights; and he adds that though the questions were most complicated, Innocent so unravelled them and solved them so well that all admired his remarkable ability. Cf. epp. ii. 103, 105, 106, 133-140, 143, 149.

² "Strenuus" is the epithet applied to him by Rodrigo (viii. 5); and Alberic Trium Font. assures us that at his death on the field of Muret both armies grieved: "quia multa prelia egerat in fide catholica." *Chron.*, an. 1213, pp. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. p. 898. In his efforts against the Saracen, Pedro could always count upon the support of the Pope. Cf. ep. viii. 96, exhorting the knights of Calatrava to support Pedro against the Moors.

³ *Supra*, vol. vii. 341 f.

herited from his father along with the kingdom of Aragon, which had also already been subjected to the overlordship of the Popes.¹ Anxious to attach his suzerain still closer to his interests, to increase his personal prestige by a solemn coronation at the hands of the Pope,² and to assure himself of the support of the fleets of Genoa in his intended attack on the Moors in the Balearic Isles, Pedro set sail for Italy.³ With five galleys, and accompanied by a number of the higher clergy and nobility, he landed at the Isola Sacra in November 1204. Innocent at once sent a number of cardinals, the senator of the city and other nobles, and a force of horse and foot to escort the king to the quarters of the canons of St. Peter's.

Coronation
of Pedro in
Rome,
1204.

On the third day after Pedro's arrival in Rome, *i.e.*, on the feast of St. Martin of Tours (November 11), the Pope, surrounded by the College of Cardinals, escorted by the primicerius, the senator, the cantors, judges, notaries, and nobles,⁴ and followed by a huge crowd, betook himself to the monastery of St. Pancratius on the Aurelian Way, not far from the gate of S. Pancrazio. In the basilica of the monastery Pedro, after having been anointed by Peter, cardinal-bishop of Porto, was crowned by Innocent himself, who invested him with a mantle and dalmatic

¹ *Ib.*, 342 f. Hence in the *Liber Censuum* (ed. Fabre, i. 16,* 17,* 213, 216) rulers of these lands appear as taxpayers to the Holy See: "Comes Barchilonensis de tota terra sua sicut continetur in registro Urbani P. singulis quinquenniis xxv libras argenti purissimi." "Illustris rex Aragonum pro toto regno suo singulis annis, ccl obulos auri."

² According to Hurter (i. 555), Pedro II. was the first Aragonese monarch who was crowned. Giraldus Camb., *De instruc. princip.*, p. 201, ed. 1846, expressly states that the kings of Spain and Ireland were not crowned.

³ Altamira, *Hist. de España*, i. 375, thinks that one of the objects which Pedro had in view in his visit to Rome was to treat with the Pope about his possessions in the south of France, which, as full of heretics (Albigensians), might be endangered by invasion.

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 120. "Cum . . . primicerio et cantoribus, senatore, justitiariis, iudicibus, advocatis et scriniariis," etc.

(*colobium*), a sceptre and an orb, and a crown and mitre—all most precious and beautiful, which he had caused to be specially made.¹ After his investiture with the insignia of royalty, Pedro took the usual oath to the Pope: "I, Pedro, king of Aragon, promise that I will ever be faithful and obedient to the lord Pope Innocent, and that I will faithfully maintain my kingdom in that obedience, defending the Catholic faith and putting down heresy (*persequens hæreticam pravitatem*). I will guard the liberties and immunities of the churches and protect their rights, and in all the territories subject to my rule I will strive to preserve peace and justice."²

From the basilica of St. Pancratius the king, wearing his crown, proceeded in great state to St. Peter's. There he laid his crown and sceptre on the high altar, and, after receiving a sword from the Pope's hand, formally made over his kingdom to him by deed of gift. "I believe and profess," ran the document, "that the Roman Pontiff, who is the successor of Blessed Peter, is the Vicar of Him by whom kings reign. . . . I, Pedro, by God's grace king of Aragon, count of Barcelona, and lord of Montpellier, desiring above all things, after God, to be supported by the protection of Blessed Peter and the Apostolic See, offer to you, most reverend Father and Supreme Pontiff the lord Innocent, and through you to the holy Roman Church, my kingdom. And I offer it to you and your successors moved by divine love, and for the good of my soul and of those of my predecessors. Moreover, from the royal treasury there shall every year be paid to the Apostolic See two hundred and fifty *massamutinæ*,³ and I and my successors shall be accounted

¹ Ep. viii. 92. "Non minus pretiosa quam speciosa fecimus præparari."

² *Gesta, ib.* Cf. ep. vii. 229.

³ "Massamuntina" (mazmotin, masmodin), srelt in many ways, "was the name given by the Franks to the Almohade byzant of Gharb,

specially faithful to it. I decree that this sum shall be paid in perpetuity, because I trust that you and your successors will with their apostolic authority ever defend me and my successors and the aforesaid kingdom. . . . That this royal concession may remain inviolate I have, *with the advice of the nobles of my court* . . . set my seal to it. Given at Rome, November 11, 1204, in the eighth year of my reign."¹

At the close of the ceremonies in St. Peter's, Pedro was escorted to St. Paul's outside-the-walls, close to which he embarked for his native land.² In the course of the year after his return Pedro received many privileges and helpful letters from the Pope. Among other privileges³ which he received was that his successors, after having asked Rome for their crowns, might be crowned by the archbishop of Tarragona at Saragossa.⁴ Innocent is also said to have given to Pedro the title of "Catholic," to have declared him the standard-bearer (*gonfaloniere*) of the Holy See, and to have adopted as a papal standard one modelled on that of Aragon.⁵

because the chief of the sect of the Almohades belonged to the tribe of Masmoudy (masmudini)." About this period it was worth two and a half Sicilian golden taris, or a little less than half a golden florin. Fabre, *Lib. Cens.*, i. 12 n.

¹ *Gesta*, c. 121. Cf. ep. viii. 92.

² *Gesta*, c. 122. From a want of understanding of the spirit of the Middle Ages, and from a want of thought of the previous relations of Aragon and Rome, certain Spanish and English authors especially have vainly declaimed against Peter for his deeds in Rome; but it should be borne in mind with Luchaire, *Innocent III.*, vol. v. "Les Royautés," p. 57: "Mais il ne faut pas perdre de vue que les consciences pieuses du moyen âge, au lieu de considérer l'assujettissement au pape comme une situation humiliante, y voyaient au contraire une faveur et un privilège désirable."

³ Cf. epp. viii. 93-5, given in full by Delisle and Pitra.

⁴ Ep. viii. 92, July 16, 1205. Cf. the protest of Pedro's great grandson Alfonso III. (1285-1291) against the act of infeudation, ap. De la Fuente, *Hist. ecles. de España*, iv. p. 571.

⁵ Fuente, *ib.*, p. 218, quoting the *Cronaca Pinatense*. "Rom. Pont. in honorem domus Aragonum ordinavit quod ipse et omnes ejus succes-

Although, as we have seen, in his action at Rome Pedro had the support of the chief bishops and lay nobility of his country, still, when his extravagances caused him to face the Cortes at Huesca (1205) with a demand for money, that assembly, or some of its members, based a refusal of his request on the ground that he had given up to the Pope privileges which belonged to them. Their protestations were, however, of no avail. The kingdom of Aragon remained a tributary of the Holy See.

Some
results of
Pedro's act.

Early in his long reign, Pedro's son Jayme (James) I., who owed his crown to the exertions of Innocent,¹ endeavoured to avoid payment to Rome for the county of Barcelona. Honorius III. promptly ordered him to be compelled to pay (October 5, 1218);² and, as we find the Pope soon after taking the kingdom of Aragon and the county under his protection,³ we may presume that Jayme duly paid what was owing.⁴ Or perhaps it would be more just to say that it may be presumed that he promised to pay his dues; for he himself records that he was upbraided by Gregory X. in 1274 for the non-payment of the large arrears that he then owed.⁵

Though Innocent was naturally disposed to favour so orthodox a sovereign as Pedro II., he would not listen to him when he preferred an unjust request. In 1204 Pedro espoused Mary, the "Lady of Montpelier."⁶

Pedro fails
to obtain a
divorce.

sores portarent unum vexillum factum cum signis seu armis Regis Aragonum." The chronicle of Peña was composed in the fourteenth century.

¹ Fuente, *ib.*, p. 220; Luchaire, *ib.*, 58; Altamira, i. 376.

² So he himself relates in his Chronicle, c. 10. Cf. F. D. Swift, *James I.*, pp. 14-15, Oxford, 1894.

³ *Regesta Hon.*, i. p. 272, No. 1635.

⁴ May 10, 1219, ap. *ib.*, i. 339-40, Nos. 2055 and 2057. Cf. No. 2162.

⁵ Cf. his Chronicle, c. 523 f., ed. Forster.

⁶ On her see *The Queens of Aragon* (London, 1913), p. 85 ff., by E. L. Miron, whose work must not be judged by the following silly remark. Speaking of the coronation at Rome of Mary's husband,

Whether he had married her merely to strengthen his position in Provence, or because he really loved her at the time, he at any rate soon wearied of her, and applied to Rome for a divorce. The reasons put forth by this "Catholic and God-fearing man," as Innocent calls him, were threefold. One had reference to his own dissoluteness, the second turned on the fact that Mary had been previously married to a count who was still alive,¹ and the third set forth that she was related to him in the forbidden degrees of kindred.² Innocent put the case into the hands of the bishop of Pamplona and other delegates; but it was delayed first by the death of two out of the three delegates, and by the subsequent appeal of the queen to the tribunal of Innocent himself.³ The Pope's decision was at length (January 19, 1213) communicated by him both to the queen and to the king. He pointed out that in the sentence which he gave in the queen's favour he had not swerved either to the right or to the left, and, reminding Pedro that in his action he was consulting not the king's pleasure but his eternal salvation, he begged him to receive his wife with real affection, especially as she had given him a son,⁴ and was moreover a very good woman. In fine, he told the king that, in the event of his refusing to comply, he had written to the bishop of Carcassonne and others instructing them to compel him to obey by ecclesiastical censure.⁵

Miron writes: "The first named of these (the crown), it is said, having been made of bread, with jewels inset, in order to oblige the Pope to crown the king with his hand, and *not with his foot, as was customary.*"

¹ She had never really been the wife of the count of Comminges, as he "had two wives living at the time of the marriage, and eventually repudiated the third." Swift, *James I.*, p. 12.

² Ep. ix. 91, June 17, 1206; and 248, January 28, 1207.

³ Ep. xv. 221, January 19, 1213. "Humiliter postulasti," wrote Innocent to the queen, "ut ad nos causa remitteretur instructa."

⁴ Jayme (James) I., el Conquistador, *b.* February 2, 1208.

⁵ Ep. xv. 221. Cf. Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Hist. Albig.*, c. 68.

Soon after the despatch of this letter, the death of Mary in Rome, whither she had gone to plead her cause, freed Pedro from any danger of papal hostility on her account, and left him more at liberty to pursue his impure pleasures.

No doubt Pedro's endless amours were almost as much the cause of his perpetual pecuniary embarrassments as his unceasing wars. His efforts to obtain money led him to devise new methods of taxation which brought him into opposition with his nobles, and to debase the coinage, which brought down upon him the blame of the Pope. Innocent impressed upon him that the needs of war did not give him the right, "without the consent of the people," to continue in circulation the inferior coins issued by his father.¹

Pedro is censured by the Pope for maintaining the debased coinage of his father.

Though Pedro's wars were honourable, and, in the main, approved by the Pope, especially, as we shall see presently, that war which led to the glorious victory of Las Navas de Tolosa, still his martial zeal against the Moors had occasionally to be tempered by Innocent's prudence. In 1203 Innocent had not effected that union among the Christian kings which he afterwards succeeded in bringing about; and so, reminding Pedro that he him-

Mary died in Rome, whither she had fled, in April 1213. Cf. ep. xvi. 23, April 8, 1213, for Innocent's further protection of Mary's rights. Moreover, before this, Innocent had stood by Mary. On the death of her husband, En (or don) Guillen (William) of Montpellier (c. 1203), her rights as "lady of Montpellier" were disputed by one of his natural sons. The "contention came before the Pope, so that our mother, the Queen Doña Maria, had to travel to the court of Rome to maintain her rights, and demand that I, who was her heir, might be lord of Montpellier. And Doña Maria's claim was contested before the Pope till his Holiness sentenced in her favour, as is written in a decretal." Jayme's *Chron.*, c. 4. Cf. ep. Inn., v. 128, c. September 1202, where Innocent refuses to legitimatise the said natural sons.

¹ ii. 28. Cf. ep. viii. 9, where Pedro is called to task for interference in ecclesiastical elections, and warned against attempting to convert "the field of liberty into a garden of slavery."

self recognised that he needed the help of the other kings ; that there was at the moment no unity among his fellow-princes ;¹ and that on the other hand the king of Morocco was strong in recent victories, he advised him to refrain for the time from attempting to fight him.² Even if Pedro followed the Pope's advice on this occasion, he at any rate did not when it was a question of his fighting against Simon de Montfort, as we shall point out when treating of the Albigenian wars. From being a lifelong "soldier of the Church and defender of the faith (*pro fide bellator*) . . . and a special son of his Holiness the Pope (*apostolice sanctitatis* . . . *filius specialis*)," he became, as his sister Queen Constance of Sicily bitterly bewailed, "towards the close of his life something quite different";³ embraced the cause of Raymond of Toulouse ; and was ignominiously defeated and slain at the battle of Muret (1213). His unhappy sister had to beg that "the lord of so many provinces" might get at least "a little tomb," and that the Pope would watch over his infant son.⁴

Alfonso
(III.) VIII.
of Castile.

Meanwhile, we may turn to Alfonso VIII. of Castile, who, with Pedro as his chief supporter, gained over the Moors the decisive victory of Las Navas. After his marriage with the English princess Eleanor, daughter of Henry II. (1170), Alfonso's position within his own dominions was more assured, and he was able to direct his arms against the Moors. But, though he had the support of Alfonso IX. of Leon, he was not at first successful against them. He and his ally suffered a

¹ "Reges Hispaniarum in quibusdam non solum diversa sapiant, sed adversa, nec pax pectoris vigeat inter eos, sed pax potius peccatoris." vi. 235.

² *Ib.*

³ Ep. of Constance, ap. H.-B., *Hist. dipl.*, i. p. 282 ; or Kehr, *Das Briefbuch des Thomas*, p. 65.

⁴ *Ib.*

severe defeat at the hands of Yusuf at Alarcos in Cuenca (1195). After the battle, war broke out between the allies; but Alfonso of Castile was much the abler sovereign, and had soon so far reduced his adversary that he was able to devote all his energies to avenging the defeat of Alarcos. His chief preliminary endeavour was to induce the Christian rulers to act together. He would, however, have been unable to effect this united action but for the hearty co-operation of the Pope.¹ Innocent hearkened to Alfonso's cry for help, and supported the efforts of the Castilian monarch with all his heart. He exhorted the bishops of Spain to urge all who were not specially bound by treaties of peace with the Moors to support the efforts of Alfonso;² he appealed to warriors outside Spain to help in the great work, offering them the same indulgences as were offered to the Spaniards themselves;³ and he refused to let the consideration of any other question, such as that of the primacy of Toledo, interfere with the all-important question of the Saracen war.⁴ Fortunately, the historian Rodrigo, who was then archbishop of Toledo, was not one of those who will pursue their own rights at all times no matter what evil may thereby fall on the whole community. On the contrary, abandoning all thoughts of his own interests, he devoted himself to seconding the efforts of his sovereign and of the Pope.

Much need there was for hearty co-operation on the Las Navas
de Tolosa,
1212.

¹ This is insisted on by St. Hilaire: "Seul, Alonzo eut échoué dans cette tâche, si Innocent III. avec le zèle d'un pontife chrétien, n'eût voulu la partager avec lui." *Hist. d'Espagne*, iv. p. 58 f.

² xiii. 183, December 10, 1210; xiv. 3-5, February 22, 1211.

³ xiii. 183, xiv. 154-5, 1211. Ep. 154 is addressed to the king of Castile himself, and ep. 155 to the archbishop of Sens and his suffragans, telling them of the letters "full of fear" which he has received from Alfonso concerning the great host of Moors which has crossed into Spain. The letter is dated January 31.

⁴ xiv. 57.

part of Pope and king, bishop and noble, Spaniard and foreigner; for, encouraged by the victory of Alarcos, and, according to some invited by the Albigensian heretics,¹ the Moors were making great preparations to recover lost ground. From Seville the Almohade sovereign, Mohammed an Nasir, issued a haughty letter to all the princes of Christendom, especially to the king of Aragon, calling on them to embrace victorious Mohammedanism. He informed Pedro that he was given to understand that he was acting against the Moors, "under the instigation of the Lord of Rome," who, said an Nasir, has acted to the ruin of Christendom and his own, as it was his intention to march to Rome and to devote its lord to "degradation and misery (*contumeliis et miseriis*)."²

Fortunately, this insolence served but to rouse both the Pope and the king to greater efforts. Innocent urged the archbishops of Toledo and Compostela to insist by every means in their power on the Spanish kings keeping peace with one another, and to compel them, especially

¹ "Albienses, antequam veniret contra eos exercitus Domini . . . Miralimomelinum regem de Marroch in auxilium sibi invitaverunt." Cæsar of Heisterbach, *Dialog. Mirac.*, v. 21. Cæsar is not a first-class authority on Albigensian affairs, though he was a contemporary.

² October 9, 1211, is the date of the letter, ap. *Annal. Austr. contin. Lambac.*, an. 1211, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. 557 f. Cf. Sicard, *Chron.*, 1212, ap. *ib.*, xxxi. p. 180, who says that an Nasir, whom he calls: "Almiramomelin rex Mauritanie," threatened to seize "non solum Yspaniam, set et Romam, immo Europam . . . universam." Cf. Cæsar of H., *l.c.* (who adds that the Moor threatened to stable his horses in the portico of St. Peter's); ep. xv. 15, April 15, 1212, and the letter of Arnaldus, archbishop of Narbonne, to the abbots of the Cistercian order, ap. *R. P. SS.*, xix. 250 ff. He also tells, "as he had heard from very many," that "Miramomelinus, the king of Morocco, had declared war on all who *adore* the Cross." The European writers often call Saracen rulers "Miramomelinus." It simply means "commander of the faithful," being formed from "Amir," meaning "commander," and the plural of "mumín" (the faithful). See also Emo, *Chron.*, an. 1212, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. p. 475.

the king of Leon, to refrain from giving any help to the Saracens.¹

At the exhortation of the Pope, who was specially moved to act by the imploring letters sent him by Alfonso, crowds of warriors from nearly every part of Europe flocked to Toledo;² Pedro II. and Sancho of Navarre heartily co-operated with Alfonso of Castile, and troops joined them even from Alfonso IX. of Leon.

The united forces of the Christians met the great Moslem host on the plateaux (*navas*) of Tolosa, and on July 16, 1212, broke for ever the power of Mahomet in Spain. Ready as Alfonso had been before the battle, so he told the Pope, "to die for the faith of Christ," after it, he attributed the victory solely to God.³ The letter in which the Castilian monarch gave Innocent a full account of the great victory was read aloud and explained by the Pope himself to the assembled people of Rome, and, after giving thanks to God for the success of the Christian arms, he gave such praises to Alfonso that, as he wrote to the king, "he would prefer that they were told to the king by others rather than by him."⁴

Among the presents which, out of the enormous booty which fell into his hands, the king of Castile sent to the

¹ Ep. xv. 15. "Resting," says the chronicler Lucas of Tuy, ap. Schottus, *Hisp. illust.*, iv., 110, "on the authority of the lord Pope Innocent," Rodrigo, archbishop of Toledo, at once began to preach the Crusade in France.

² Roderick, viii. 1. Cf. Alfonso's letter to Innocent, inter epp. Inn., xv. 182; and that of Arnaldus, just quoted.

³ Ep. xv. 182.

⁴ Ep. xv. 183, October 26, 1212, in reply to the one just quoted. The gallant Archbishop Arnaldus thanks our Lord "that during the glorious apostolate of the lord Pope Innocent" he granted "to Catholic Christians" victory over three classes "of pestilent men and enemies of His holy Church—to wit, the eastern schismatics, the western heretics, and the southern Saracens." *L.c.*

Pope, there were the lance of an Nasir, a silk tent, and a gold-embroidered banner. These were hung up in St. Peter's,¹ and as late as 1474 the banner at least was still to be seen there.²

Alfonso
IX. of
Leon.
His
marriages.

Whilst the other kings of Spain were freely exposing their lives in gaining that glorious victory which gave the death-blow to Moslem power in the west of Europe, Alfonso IX. of Leon³ was ignobly engaged in attacking the territory of his namesake of Castile. This mean man, who sought his own in the hour of his country's sore need, had previously come in contact with the Holy See for seeking his own in ways forbidden by the Church. Without asking for a dispensation, he had, for reasons of state, in the year 1191 married his first cousin Theresa, daughter of Sancho I. of Portugal. The dissolution of the marriage was ordered by Celestine III., but it was not till after an interdict had been laid both on Leon and on Portugal that "what had been illegally done, was quite undone (1195)."⁴

"As at this period as well in the East as in the West" marriage within the forbidden degrees was being commonly practised,⁵ the Popes made a determined effort to put down the abuse. Hence when, untaught by his previous

¹ Rich. of S. Germ., an. 1212; Vincent of Beauvais, *Hist.*, xxx., c. 2; Caesar of H., *l.c.*; and William the Breton, n. 161.

² Hurter, ii. p. 425 n., quoting the *Magn. Chron. Belg.*, p. 214. Cf. Vincent, *l.c.* Vincent wrote about the middle of the thirteenth century.

³ The brief (four-page) biography of Alfonso by Gil de Zamora adds very little to our knowledge of him, as it is nearly all drawn from Rodrigo and Tuy. Zamora, a distinguished writer, was a Franciscan, a friend of Alfonso el Sabio, and the master of his unworthy son Sancho IV., el Bravo (1284-1295). The biography has been printed by F. Fita in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, t. 13 (Madrid, 1888), p. 291 ff.

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 58. Cf. Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.*, 1191, iii. p. 90, R. S.; ep. Inn., ii. 75, May 25; Gil de Zamora, c. 2; Lucas of Tuy, *Chron.*, era 1226, ap. Schottus, iv., 109.

⁵ *Gesta*, *ib.*; Fuente, *Hist. ecles.*, iv. 196, gives examples.

experience, Alfonso repeated his offence, and married another cousin, Berengaria, the daughter of Alfonso (III.) VIII. of Castile (1197), he had to face the opposition of Innocent.¹ When word of this new marriage reached the Pope, he sent "his beloved son, brother Rainer," to look into the case, and to act as ascertained facts should dictate.² At first the royal pair braved excommunication and interdict, but endeavoured both by argument and persuasion to induce the Pope to allow their union to stand. Alfonso even offered to give "Innocent and the cardinals twenty thousand marks of silver, and to maintain two hundred knights during the space of a year for the defence of the Christians against the pagans, on condition that the lord Pope would permit them to live together till God should give them offspring, or at least for three years."³ But Innocent was inexorable. He did not wish to be "an acceptor of persons," nor to seem to act for money.⁴ For some years neither the words nor deeds of the Pope produced any effect; but at length, through pressure brought upon the father of Berengaria,⁵ she besought the pardon of the Church, and left Alfonso (1204).⁶ Innocent was,

¹ *Gesta, l.c.* Cf. Roger, an. 1198, iv. 78 f. In the previous passage Roger, no doubt by mistake, says that the second marriage took place "by permission of Celestine."

² *Gesta, ib.*; epp. i. 92-3, April 16 and 21, 1198; ii. 75.

³ Roger, and *Gesta, l.c.*

⁴ *Gesta, l.c.*

⁵ *Ib.*; cf. ep. vi. 80, June 5, 1203.

⁶ *Gesta, ib.*; ep. vii. 67, May 22, 1204; G. de Zamora, cc. 2 and 5. Cf. ep. vii. 94, June 19, 1204, ordering the absolution of the king. As Alfonso was a "Catholic Christian," a member of a body which recognised that marriage within certain degrees of kindred was unlawful, and could only be legitimatised by means of a special dispensation from the head of that body, to praise "his independence of a foreign priest" and his "noble resistance" and to rail against "the pretensions of Rome" is puerile, wholly unworthy of such a history as that of Burke-Hume, and certainly not warranted by the original Spanish authorities. The *Crónica General* of Alfonso el Sabio, e.g.,

however, neither unreasonable nor inconsiderate. He induced Berengaria not to insist on keeping the dower which had been given to her,¹ and for the sake of the peace of the two countries he legitimatised the children she had had by Alfonso.²

Portugal.
The tax
due to
Rome.

Passing over the few recorded relations between Innocent and the brave but self-willed and Moorishly inclined Sancho VI. of Navarre,³ we may close our story of the Iberian peninsula with a few words about Portugal. We have previously told how the first rulers of Portugal, in order to secure their independence, made themselves vassals of the Holy See; how Alfonso I., who had been acknowledged its king by Alexander III., agreed to pay in return two marks of gold.⁴ But when once they had obtained their end, the Portuguese sovereigns were not too careful to fulfil their engagements. When Pope Celestine III. sent to inquire why the annual tax of one hundred bezants was not paid, his envoy was informed by Sancho I., a man distinctly the slave of avarice,⁵ that his father, Alfonso, had paid Pope Alexander III. a thousand bezants in advance for ten years, and that the ten years had not expired. But Innocent contended

simply says: "Pues este rey don Alffonsso de Leon et la reyna donna Berenguella su mugier, partieron si casamiento por el parentesco, *que era muy llegado entrellos*, et partiolos el papa Innoçençio el terçero." N. 997, p. 678, ed. Pidal.

¹ Ep. vii. 93.

² So say Hurter (i. 553) and others, on what authority I know not.

³ Cf. Roderick, vii. 32, 33, and ep. i. 556. Ep. i. 211 is interesting to us. In response to a complaint of King Richard, the Pope brought pressure to bear on Sancho to give up part of the dowry of the English king's wife, Berengaria.

⁴ *Lib. Cens.*, i. 222, ed. Fabre. The *Liber* states that, when duke, Alfonso paid four ounces of gold, and, when king, "prescriptas iv unctias in duas marcas auri purissimi . . . augmentavit."

⁵ Cf. M. Murdo, *Hist. of Portugal*, i. 297-8, who notes that he left a million *marabotinos*, i.e., more than three million of the present Portuguese *cruzados*.

that the thousand bezants were a present over and above the tax, and therefore urged the king freely to pay the amount that was due to his agent, brother Rainer.¹ Accordingly, for the four ounces of gold which Alfonso had paid as duke, Sancho paid over five hundred and four *marabotini*, but declared that, while leaving the ultimate decision in the hands of the Pope, he was not satisfied about the additional annual tax of the hundred bezants. In order, therefore, to make the whole matter clear, Innocent forwarded to Sancho a copy of the "rescript of his father Alfonso, of illustrious memory," which he had found in the register of our predecessor" Alexander III.² The pecuniary trouble was at an end, and the kingdom of Portugal, "as one of the dependencies of the Roman Church," was again taken under papal protection.³

But the pecuniary were the least of the difficulties which arose between Sancho and the Pope. Instead of steadily devoting all his energies against the Moor, Sancho weakened his own power as well as that of the Christian resources in general by his wars with his neighbours of Leon and Castile, and, as "he never showed himself over-favourable"⁴ to the clergy, the country was distracted by dissensions between him and the bishops. Into the midst of this turmoil Innocent stepped in the interests of order. His legates and his letters promoted external peace,⁵ and his diplomacy and quiet firmness did much for the support of the clergy.

¹ Ep. i. 99, April 24, 1198. The *registers* of Lucius II. are here referred to.

² Ep. i. 448, December 9, 1198. Cf. ep. i. 449.

³ Ep. i. 441, December 9, 1198: "utpote quod (regnum) est Rom. Ecclesiæ censuale."

⁴ M'Murdo, *l.c.*, 294.

⁵ Cf. ep. i. 249, June 6, 1198, where he bids his legate, Brother Rainer, compel the kings, if necessary by excommunication and interdict, to keep the peace to which they had agreed.

He had no little to say to Sancho for his harsh treatment of the clergy, especially of the bishop of Oporto, who was compelled to fly to Rome.¹ He reminded him that he ought not to be "the oppressor but the defender" of the clergy; that he was constantly interfering in ecclesiastical affairs; that he often supported his soldiers, his horses, dogs, and hawks on the revenues of poor churches; that he handed over the clergy to secular tribunals; and that he endeavoured to interfere with appeals to Rome. He had also to complain of his superstitions; of his daily consultations with a witch (*pythonissa*); of his regarding meeting with a cleric as an unfortunate omen; of his supporting excommunicated persons, usurers, and the enemies of the Church generally, and of his hostility to the bishop of Oporto in particular. Finally, Innocent expressed no little indignation at the letters which Sancho had sent him,—letters "full of indiscretions, and not free from presumption." Among other matters, "not worthy of mention, you have presumed to write to us that we are wont willingly to lend our ears to anyone who may wish to speak against you, and have not been ashamed to give vent to opprobrious language against you. . . ." "The successors of St. Peter," continued the Pope, "are in the habit not of inflicting injuries, but, after Christ's example, of bearing them."² In conclusion, he begged the king to leave to the Pope the things of the Church, as he left those of the State to the king; and he assured him that, much as he loved him, he would not be wanting to the bishop of Oporto if the king did not treat

¹ See ep. xiii. 75, May 13, 1210, where Innocent complains of the "graves oppressiones et enormes injurias" inflicted by Sancho on Martinho Rodrigues of Oporto. Cf. Hurter, ii. 332 f.

² "Quod [the king's injurious language] nostram non illustrat providentiam, sed offuscat; quia sancti successores Petri non consueverunt inferre convicia, sed ea exemplo Christi cum patientia sustinere." xiv. 8, February 23, 1211.

him fairly. "For in matters of justice we are debtors to all."¹

How far the unaided representations of the Pope, and of those whom he commissioned to approach Sancho on the matter,² would have influenced him in favour of Martinho, may be doubted. But grievous illness came to help the words of Innocent, and at the eleventh hour Sancho endeavoured to atone for the wrongs he had done. He made a will³ in which he strove to do justice to all who were bound to him by ties of blood, or whom he had injured. Then, to ensure its being carried out, he sent it to Innocent to have it confirmed. With the exception of certain clauses in it which seemed to dispose of monastic property,⁴ Innocent duly confirmed it, praising him for offering to his Creator at least "an evening sacrifice."

Sancho falls ill and makes atonement.

It was as well for some of the legatees that Sancho's will had been confirmed by the Pope. His son and

Disputes over Sancho's will.

¹ *Ib.*

² *Cf. ib.*, epp. 9 and 10. In this latter letter, addressed to the archbishop of Compostela, he tells him that he has heard that the king's chancellor (Juliano) does not interpret the papal bulls properly to him, and hence bids the archbishop have the letters brought to Sancho's notice by one of his clerics. *Cf. Hurter*, ii. 364 ff.

³ "In mortis articulo" says Innocent, ep. xiv. 115. Hence M'Murdo's dates, i. p. 295, would seem to need revising.

⁴ Unless perchance there were question of monasteries over which the king had rights of patronage: "nisi forsan de jure intellexeris patronatus." Ep. xiv. 58, May 27, 1211. *Cf. epp.* 59 and 60. In dealing with Portugal Innocent had the usual difficulties in trying to reconcile the claims of a new nationality with old ecclesiastical jurisdictions. He had great trouble in maintaining the old rights of the archbishop of Compostela in Leon over the sees of Lisbon and Evora because, as Portuguese sees, they were now being claimed by the archbishop of Braga, the metropolitan of Portugal. *Cf. epp.* ii. 103, 105, 133-6, 139, 152. It was not till 1394 that Lisbon was made a metropolitan see, and that Evora and other quondam suffragan sees of Compostela were subjected to it. *Cf. Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica Med. Æv.*, p. 506 f.

successor Alfonso II. endeavoured to avoid fulfilling its terms, especially those in favour of his sisters. These ladies, suspecting, with justice as the event proved, that their brother would not respect his father's will, turned to the Pope, and, at their request, Innocent took them and all their property under the protection of the Church.¹ Despite this confirmation, Alfonso endeavoured to prevent the will from being put into execution. The sisters thereupon again invoked the moral support of the Pope, and at the same time the armed intervention of Alfonso IX. of Leon, to whom one of the sisters, Theresa, had once been married. Alfonso promptly responded to the appeal, and invaded the territory of the Portuguese monarch. Innocent too, despite the fact that Alfonso had early taken the precaution to place his kingdom under the protection of the Apostolic See and to promise the payment of the tribute,²—Innocent too hearkened to the sisters' appeal, and Alfonso was made to feel the force of the spiritual as well as of the temporal sword. But Innocent was not satisfied with striking. He strove to heal at the same time; and through his legates³ endeavoured, at last with success, to put an end to the disastrous struggle. In 1216 he settled the difficulties by a compromise. The sisters were to have the revenues, but jurisdiction over their cities was to be given to the king.⁴

¹ Epp. xiv. 115–118, October 5, 1211.

² Ep. xv. 24, April 16, 1212. "Statuisti duas marcas auri annis singulis nobis nostrisque successoribus persolvendas."

³ Ep. xvi. 52, May 21, 1213.

⁴ Ep. ap. Jaffé, April 7, 1216. Cf. M'Murdo, *l.c.*, pp. 317–9. We must pass over Innocent's support of the military orders of Spain, the knights of Calatrava (ii. 53), of Alcantara (viii. 100), and Santiago (xiii. 11).

CHAPTER IV.

SCANDINAVIA, LIVONIA, PRUSSIA, AND FINLAND.

Sources.—In addition to those already quoted in connection with Icelandic (*cf. supra*, vi. p. 370 ff.) and Scandinavian history (*cf. M. G. SS.*, xxix., where are given extracts from various northern documents), we may add the Saga of the Norwegian King Sverri Sigurdsson, 1177-1202 (Sverri's Saga). The old Norse original has been edited several times, and it has been translated into different languages. J. Sephton's English translation, *The Saga of King Sverri of Norway*, London, 1899, is the version we have used. This Saga, "the greatest of the historical works that shed a glory on the monastery of Thingeyri,"¹ appears to have been the work of its abbot, the Icelfander, Karl Jonsson (†1213), who got much of his information from the king himself, who "sat over him, and told him what he should write" (prologue to the Saga). Hence, how far the Saga of Sverri is likely to be impartial the reader may conjecture for himself.

Modern Works.—Besides Dunham, Crichton and Wheaton, Allen, Geijer, Karup, and Willson, frequently cited in preceding volumes in connection with Danish and Scandinavian ecclesiastical and civil history, attention may here be called (1) to Bishop J. Wordsworth's *The National Church of Sweden*, London, 1911, though it does not contain much on the Swedish medieval Church; (2) to J. Martin, "L'Église et l'état en Suède au Moyen Age," *ap. Rev. des quest. hist.*, January 1905, p. 54 ff.; and (3) to what may be described as the almost weirdly fascinating article of Eug. Beauvois in the same *Rev.*, April 1902, p. 538 ff., "La chrétienté du Groenland au Moyen Age."

¹ Sephton, p. xix. Thingeyri was in the north of Iceland.

KINGS OF DENMARK.	KINGS OF SWEDEN.	KINGS OF NORWAY.
Canute VI., 1182-1202.	Swerker II., 1195-1210.	Sverri, 1177-1202. ¹
Valdemar II. (The Victorious), 1202-1241.	Eric II., 1210-1216. John Swerkerson, 1216-1222.	Hako III., 1202-1204. Guthrum, 1204-1205. Inge II., 1205-1207. Hako IV., 1207-1263.

DENMARK.

What the
North
thought of
Innocent.

IN the survey of the world which Innocent immediately took when he mounted the watch-tower of Peter, he saw that there was much in the far north which would need his attention, and in the very first year of his pontificate he began to make his influence felt in the cold and wild regions of distant Scandinavia. Hearing his voice and feeling the pressure of his arm, the men of those countries turned and gazed upon him who from the hills of Rome would guide their destinies, and like the rest of men they pronounced him "a shining example for the prelates of Christendom to imitate; for he was suited for rule, was an almsgiver, and by his laws and sermons proved himself useful to posterity."²

Canute VI.

At this period domestic strife and foreign wars turned the whole of Scandinavia into a battlefield. But, as Denmark was the least troubled with intestine broils, it was the most prosperous portion of the Scandinavian peninsula.³ Under the reign of Canute VI. it became distinctly more consolidated, and, to the great vexation of Barbarossa, its dependence on the Empire became scarcely even nominal.⁴ Perhaps most of the communi-

¹ He was sole king of Norway only from about the year 1184. *Cf.* his Saga, c. 100.

² The Saga of Bishop Gudmund, c. 23, *M. G. SS.*, xxix. p. 415. Abbot Arngrim wrote this Saga in the fourteenth century.

³ *Cf.* Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, iii. 5.

⁴ *Cf.* Saxo Grammat., xvi. 195, p. 661, ed. Holder. The Annals of Sora (an. 1202), ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix. p. 182, and Sueno Aageson,

cations of this successful monarch with Innocent concerned, as we have already seen, the misfortunes of his daughter Ingeborg, while those of Innocent to the king or his people, apart from the case of the Danish princess, concerned the removal of abuses. Especially did he oppose the irregular doings of certain nobles in Zealand, with which intercourse had been rendered difficult by floods.¹ They were endeavouring to obtain immunity for crimes of all kinds—as, for instance, for marrying within the forbidden degrees of kindred—by inadequate money payments. Such abuses must be ended, was Innocent's decision.²

Innocent had many communications with the archbishop of Lund, which then, along with the whole southern corner of Sweden, belonged to Denmark. He recognised him as the primate of Sweden as well as of Denmark, and worked through him for the common weal, issuing orders through him, for instance, that the clergy and people should be protected from improper collectors instituted by the Hospitallers.³ Innocent's relations with the Danish clergy and people were, in a word, all in the interests of law and good order.

Canute was constantly at war with the heathen Slavs Esthonia. around him, and so fortunate was he in his expeditions against them, that he took the title, still held by his

Gesta Dan., c. 10, ap. *ib.*, p. 36, give Canute a most excellent character. The latter author says he saw the duke of the Slavs doing homage to Canute "in regis navi, quæ rostris deauratis choruscabat."

¹ Ep. i. 420, November 13. "Cum, propter inundationem aquarum in terra vestra impedimentis fossatorum obstantibus sit accessus difficilis et regressus," etc. This letter was addressed to the provost of Serand (Strand), who in Zealand acted as bishop.

² *Ib.* Cf. i. 421, to the archbishop of Lund to enforce obedience to his directions; and i. 422-5, for other letters on Danish affairs.

³ i. 450, December (?) 1198. Cf. vi. 183, to the same prelate in reply to queries touching the punishment of criminal clerics; and i. 372, where he confirms his right to certain property.

successors, of king of the Slavs.¹ That his title was not a vain one he proved, among other ways, by a most successful invasion of pagan Esthonia, south of the Gulf of Finland, which he undertook to some extent at least at the instigation "of the Pope." So at any rate says a modern historian.² But the Danish chroniclers³ assign the expedition of Canute to the days when Celestine was Pope, but do not seem to say anything about the intervention of that Pontiff, and assure us that it was Canute's successor, Waldemar II., who became master of Esthonia and partly converted it.⁴ Their assertions are borne out by the positive statement of Gregory IX. to the effect that Esthonia owed its Christianity to the warlike exertions of King Waldemar, and Andrew, archbishop of Lund (the successor of Absalom, †1201).⁵ Innocent's share in the good work was more peaceable, and is seen in a series of letters which he addressed either to Theoderic, the first bishop of Esthonia, or in his behalf. In his letters to the bishop himself he confirms his nomination,⁶ and for the time being at any rate exempted him from the jurisdiction of any metropolitan.⁷ In other letters he appeals to the people and clergy of Saxony and to the Knights of the Sword in Livonia to help Theoderic in the good work he has undertaken.⁸ Innocent thus

¹ The *Knytlingasaga*, c. 129, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix. p. 321, goes so far as to say: "Tum Knuto rex accepit imperium et tutelam totius Slaviæ."

² Allen, *Hist. de Danemark*, i. p. 119.

³ Ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix., *passim*.

⁴ "Hic (Waldemar) Estlandiam vicit et ex parte ad christianitatem coegit." *Catal. reg. Dan.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, *ib.*, p. 169. Cf. other annals, ap. *ib.*, p. 231.

⁵ *Reg. Greg.*, ii. 346, ed. Auvray. Ep. of March 22, 1236.

⁶ xvi. 127, October 31, 1213. It is addressed: "episcopo Estiensi."

⁷ xvi. 129.

⁸ Epp. xvi. 124, October 30; 126, 128. In the last letter he speaks "provinciae Estiensis quæ per Dei gratiam jam pro magna parte

exerted himself because, as he explained to Theoderic, "the solicitude of the office entrusted to us requires us to strive to support in an especial manner whatever is seen to be favourable to the spread of the worship of God."¹

But Innocent was drawn into most frequent touch with the kings of Denmark by the ambition of Waldemar, bishop of Schleswig, a natural son of Canute V. He had been named duke of Schleswig till such time as the king's brother, afterwards King Waldemar II., should be old enough to govern the duchy. When that time arrived, the bishop was loath to resign his office, and rebelled against Canute, declaring that he had as much right to the throne as that prince himself. But fortune deserted him, and he was captured by the king, who at once threw him into prison (1193).²

This punishment of a bishop without any reference to Rome was more than Innocent could endure. But, owing to the magnitude of Waldemar's crime, he does not appear to have made any protest during the lifetime of Canute. On his death († 1202), however, he wrote a very tactful letter to his successor Waldemar II. It opened with a wish that such an unworthy bishop, who had tried "to unite kingly power and the priesthood in his own person," had never existed. But after condemning Bishop Waldemar in the very strongest manner, he pointed out to the king that, seeing that God had *conversa est*." In his letter to the Knights (128) Innocent tells them that he hears that they are more concerned to add to their possessions than to propagate the faith of Christ, and he warns them that if they do not amend he will withdraw the apostolic privileges with which they have been endowed.

¹ xvi. 127.

² Cf. Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, v. 17; ep. Inn., vi. 181, December 5, 1203; and a letter of Waldemar II. to Innocent, ap. epp. Inn. viii. 192. This latter letter is not dated, but was despatched no doubt during the course of the year 1205.

Kings
Canute,
Waldemar
II., and
Bishop
Waldemar
of Schles-
wig.

preserved Canute's throne safe for him, "he ought not to have judged the servant of another, nor have treated a bishop with as little consideration as a worthless slave, but he ought to have deferred to the Roman Church, left judgment to the Apostolic See, and kept his own hands guiltless. Nor had he any reason to fear that the bishop would have escaped the judgment of the Apostolic See, or have avoided the discipline of that See from whose mouth proceeds a two-edged sword, more penetrating than any earthly steel, that vibrates from sea to sea in an instant, crosses the ocean, and flies over hills and mountains as it were in the twinkling of an eye, and wounds those whom it strikes not only here but hereafter. . . . Whatever were the crimes of the bishop, it may well be asked what evil has the Apostolic See committed, and what wrong has been wrought by the Universal Church that their rights should be injured in him?"¹ In conclusion, he begged the king, after taking every precaution, and relying on the co-operation of the Apostolic See, to release the sinful bishop, on condition of perpetual exile in Italy.

To this eloquent appeal Waldemar, "the victorious," or as he called himself, "king of the Danes and Slavs, duke of Jutland and lord of Nordalbingia," replied that he knew that all Christians without exception were bound to love, honour, and obey his Holiness,² and he realised that he was specially called upon to do so, as Innocent had done so much for him, and therefore, dangerous as it was so to do, he would release the bishop. He had full trust, he said, that the Pope would see to it

¹ Ep. vi. 181.

² Ep. viii. 192. "Cum universi quantumcunque per orbem terrarum diffusi Christianæ fidei sectatores sanctitatis vestræ excellentiam venerari et diligere . . . teneantur, etc. . . . Licet enim ad obediendum et obsequendum sanctitatis vestræ beneplacitis Christianæ professionis generalibus institutis et gentibus universis communibus teneamur," etc.

that no harm should come to him or his kingdom in consequence.

In his reply to the king, whilst most heartily thanking him for acceding to his wishes, Innocent begged him to allow the bishop some portion of the revenues of his see on which to support himself, and, when sending him to Rome, to see him safe into the hands of Andrew, king of Hungary, after which he would be responsible for him.¹

But Waldemar proved unworthy both of the clemency of the king and of the interest of the Pope. In 1207 Hartwig, archbishop of Bremen, went the way of all flesh, and the chapter of Bremen, no doubt to meet the wishes of Philip of Suabia, king of the Romans, elected the bishop of Schleswig to succeed him. Anxious to have an enemy of Denmark in that important see,² Philip³ begged the Pope to consent to the transfer of Waldemar from the see of Schleswig to that of Bremen; for, as the king said to Innocent, he was aware that "by God's ordinance the plenitude of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was centred in his person," and that "a bishop cannot pass from one see to another without his permission."⁴

Waldemar is elected to the see of Bremen.

In an evil hour for himself "the ungrateful" bishop endeavoured to precipitate matters. He secretly fled

¹ viii. 193, January 23, 1206. Cf. ep. x. 41, April 2, 1207; x. 209; and Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, vi. 18. In the last two letters Innocent notes that, when Waldemar came before him, he had so much to say in his own behalf that he had to ask the king to send procurators to reply to the bishop's allegations.

² King Waldemar, in his reply granting Innocent's request for the release of the bishop, had expressed his anxiety lest Philip should be able to get in touch with his namesake, seeing that: "Philippus tamen dux Sueviæ, inimicis nostris magis se sociat quam amicis." Ep. viii. 192.

³ Cf. ep. x. 209; x. 215.

⁴ "Cum igitur apud sanctitatem vestram divina ordinatione totius ecclesiastici juris plenitudo consistat," etc. Ep. x. 215.

from the Pope, and, under the protection of Philip, betook himself to Bremen.¹ But Innocent was not to be played with in that fashion. The bishops of France and Germany were promptly ordered to declare Waldemar excommunicated, and the bull of excommunication was sent to Bremen itself, where at first no one had the courage to publish it. But at length, under the pretence of making an offering, a person unknown laid it on the altar whilst Mass was being said.²

Bishop Waldemar, however, whose hand was more at home on the handle of a sword than on a pastoral staff, and who was more fitted to lead men to battle than to guide their souls to heaven, maintained his position for some time by force of arms.³ But the murder of his chief supporter, King Philip (June 1208), materially weakened his position,⁴ and, in consequence of a letter from Innocent to Otho, "emperor of the Romans,"⁵ he was duly expelled from Bremen. Again, therefore, did he become a suppliant for the mercy of that Apostolic See which, to use some of the last words of Arnold of Lubeck, is wont to forgive up to seventy times seven times.⁶ For the moment, "as the case was a very complex one," nothing was decided except that, outside the diocese of Bremen, he might say Mass as a bishop.⁷

¹ Ep. x. 209, to Queen Maria, the wife of King Philip. "Ingratus . . . fraudulenter et contumaciter a nobis illicentiatus aufugit." Cf. xi. 10, to King Waldemar; xi. 173; xii. 63, and ep. 149, *Reg. Imp.*, where Innocent calls W. "perfidious"; Arnold, *l.c.*, vi. 18, vii. 10.

² Epp. x. 209, 210, xi. 173, November 4, 1208. Cf. *Ann. Ryenses*, an. 1206, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 405; and Arnold, vii. 10, who says: "In quadam missa publica a quodam, quasi cum ceteris offerente, in altari posite sunt, *i.e.*, the apostolic letters of excommunication."

³ Arnold, *ib.*, c. 11.

⁴ *Ib.* c. 13.

⁵ xii. 63, July 2, 1209.

⁶ *L.c.*, c. 19. Cf. St. Matt. xviii. 21 f. "Waldemar . . . per se ipsum limina apostolicæ pietatis . . . pulsare non cessavit." Cf. *Chron. Danorum Sialandica*, an. 1209, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix.

⁷ Arnold, *l.c.*, vii. 19.

Unfortunately, with Waldemar promises were only words, and he forgot all his promises of obedience to Innocent when, after the beginning of Otho's quarrel with the Pope, he was restored to Bremen by Duke Bernard, "as though in accordance with the will of the emperor" (1210),¹ and the Pope's nominee was rejected.² Innocent once more instituted vigorous proceedings against the refractory prelate.³ But once more did Waldemar boldly kick against the goad; and it had to be taken up and applied by Honorius III.⁴ before he found it no longer worth his while to resist. He sincerely repented, and became a Cistercian; and the last picture which history gives us of this daring prelate shows him with a papal letter in his hand humbly begging to be received into a Cistercian monastery.⁵

SWEDEN.

The development of law and order and of Christianity was at this period greatly retarded in Sweden by a want of national unity. The Swedes of the North had not as yet completely amalgamated with the Goths of the South, and the rival peoples were prone to support rival candidates for the throne. King Charles Swerkerson was slain by Canute Ericson, who obtained the support of the Swedes (1167). The usurper successfully held his own against the sons of Charles, but was not able to secure the succession of one of his own sons. After his death (†1195) a son of Charles, Swerker II.,

Condition
of Sweden.

¹ *Annal. Stad.*, an. 1211, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. 355.

² Ep. xiii. 158, October 30, 1210. It was at this period that Innocent took under the protection of the Apostolic See the kingdom of Denmark. Epp. xii. 157, January 30, 1210; and xiii. 65, May 7, 1210.

³ Ep. xv. 3, February 28, 1212.

⁴ *Cf.*, *e.g.*, ep. April 12, 1218, n. 1240, ed. Pressutti.

⁵ *Ib.*, n. 2720, September 24, 1220.

was acknowledged king of Sweden through the influence of Denmark.¹

Throughout the North, as throughout the rest of Europe, great was the political prestige of the See of Rome. A Norse eleventh-century poet, Eilif, speaking of our Lord, sang :

“They say Christ sits upon a mountain throne
Far to the south beside the well of Fate :
So closely has the Lord whom angels own
With Rome and Roman lands entwined His state.”²

Accordingly, to render his position more secure, Swerker II. placed himself under the protection of the Roman Church.³

Action of
Innocent in
Sweden.

With a well-disposed king to help him, Innocent applied himself to building up the Church in Sweden. Conforming himself, as he expressly stated, to the regulations laid down by Hadrian IV., he confirmed the primacy of the archbishop of Lund over Sweden, and his relations to Upsala, which had been fixed as the metropolitan see of Sweden. The archbishop of Upsala had to be consecrated by the primate of Lund, and, “saving the fidelity he owed to the Roman Church,” had to take “an oath of fidelity and obedience” to him. With regard to the bestowal of the pallium, the Pope decreed that an envoy of the church of Lund and one of the church of Upsala had to go to Rome to ask for it. When granted, it had to be taken to the primate of Lund, who was to bestow it on the new archbishop.⁴

¹ Ep. Inn., xi. 174, November 13, 1208, furnishes us with these historical facts.

² Quoted by Wordsworth, p. 105, from the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ii. p. 22.

³ “Rex sub Ecclesiæ R. ac nostra protectione consistens.” xi. 174.

⁴ Ep. i. 419, November 23, 1198, to Absalom (or Absalon) of Lund. Cf. i. 374 for the despatch of the pallium to Upsala, and vii. 148 for the despatch of a second to replace one which had been destroyed in a fire.

Still further to enhance the dignity of the see of Lund, and in reward for his zeal for the conversion of the surrounding pagan nations, Innocent named Andrew Sunensen his legate throughout Denmark and Sweden.

Into perhaps the great mass of the Swedes the spirit of Christianity had not as yet sunk very deeply. Pagan superstitions and practices were still deeply engrained in the mass of the laity, who were by no means as much under the influence of civilisation as even their neighbours the Danes;² and the clergy did not realise that any special example was expected from them, and may have even viewed with indifference that the Church of their country was, more than in any other land, kept in bonds by the oppression of the powerful.³ Under these circumstances, it is not surprising to find that Innocent had to complain that, disregarding the laws of the Church in the West, the Swedish clergy were all married men.⁴ When, however, Innocent, in co-operation with the primate of Lund,⁵ endeavoured to compel them to keep these laws, they replied that their conduct was justified by a privilege granted them by a papal bull.⁶ No privilege was, however, forthcoming on Innocent's demanding to see it; but, pending the gradual establishment of canonical discipline, he had in Sweden to tolerate many things,

Marriage of
the clergy.

¹ Ep. xv. 14, April 4, 1212. Cf. xvi. 10, where Innocent bids Andrew punish with perpetual imprisonment on bread and water one who, on the strength of forged papal letters, had pretended to be a legate of the Apostolic See, and had acted as a bishop. The Church was much troubled by forgers at this period.

² Ep. i. 444. "Illius terræ homines sunt adhuc rudes in fide."

³ "Cum nulla Ecclesia sit in mundi partibus constituta quæ tantum propter insolentiam populi jugo subiaceat servitutis." Ep. x. 147.

⁴ "Accedit ad hæc quod, cum in ipsa provincia presbyteri ex prava consuetudine mulieres sibi non metuant matrimonialiter copulare," etc. *Ib.*

⁵ Ep. vi. 198, December 16, 1203. ⁶ Ep. xvi. 118, October 3, 1213.

such as the elevation of a priest's son even to an archiepiscopal see,¹ which he would not have tolerated elsewhere.

Meanwhile, he bade the primate of Lund act in his place ; never to cease his efforts to reform both clergy and people by regularly visiting his province ;² and to collect for him the taxes due to the Holy See in Denmark and Sweden.³

Dethrone-
ment of
Swerker II.

But Innocent's work of reform in Sweden was hindered by civil war which led to the dethronement of Swerker II., who had been raised to the Swedish throne despite the claims of the sons of his immediate predecessor Canute Ericson. According to a letter of the Pope which is our best authority on this subject, Swerker had treated Canute's sons with the greatest kindness, but, induced to rebel against him, three of them were slain in battle (1205). The fourth, Eric, however, escaped, gathered a force of Swedes, and forced the Gothic Swerker to fly into Denmark. It was in response to an appeal from Swerker to Rome for help that Innocent despatched the letter in question to the bishops of Sweden, exhorting them to support the defeated king in every way (1208).⁴ But either the Pope's letter or the bishop's help was inefficacious. Eric remained master of the field, despite the assistance which his rival received from Denmark (1208).⁵ Swerker was slain in 1210, and, as he left only a boy under age, Innocent, for the sake of peace, re-

¹ Ep. x. 147. Cf. ep. i. 444, December 5, 1198.

² Ep. vii. 157 ; viii. 194-198 ; ix. 11 ; x. 146. One of the last letters of Innocent to Andrew (xvi. 181, February 21, 1213) was sent to summon him to the Lateran Council.

³ Ep. vii. 155. "Monemus . . . ut censum b. Petri per regna Daciæ ac Sueviæ fideliter colligas."

⁴ xi. 174, November 13, 1208.

⁵ Swerker and his Danish allies were utterly routed at the bloody battle of Lena in West Gothland (1208).

cognised Eric as king ; but on his death (1216) was unable to keep the throne in his family.¹

NORWAY.

Innocent's relations with Norway were mostly in connection with King Sverri, that "sacrilegious apostate," that "cruel tyrant," "that limb of the devil," "that monster who only spares those he is unable to injure," "that excommunicated apostate, the enemy of God and his saints on account of his crimes"—as the Pope describes him at different times.² King Sverri.

Before proceeding further we must answer the question who was this "apostate," concerning whom Innocent used stronger language than he applied to any other of the many men of whom he had to speak. "Regardless of his mother's good name," says the Pope,³ he declared that he was of royal blood ; and what Innocent reports him to have said, we find Sverri himself asserting through his scribe, Abbot Jonsson. The monk tells us that Sverri (*b.* 1151) for many years⁴ supposed himself to be the son of Unas Kambari, an armourer of the Faroë Islands, and of Gunhild, a Norse woman. When he was five years of age, his father sent him to his native place in the Faroë Islands, and the young Sverri was there trained by Bishop Hroi, the brother of Unas, and was at length ordained priest. "But," says his biographer, "when he reached a ripe age, he did not shape himself to the priesthood, and was rather unruly"; and, as he said of himself: "I am not well suited to be a priest."⁵ "A strange matter now happened," continued his biographer. "Gunhild, the

¹ So says Martin, *L'Église en Suède*, p. 62.

² Epp. i. 320, 382-4, 1198.

³ i. 384.

⁴ Sverri's Saga, c. 2, says he "was twenty-four years of age before he was told who was his real father."

⁵ *Ib.*, cc. 1 and 2.

mother of Sverri, left the land to go south to Rome (1175). There, to one who heard her confession, she confessed that the man whom hitherto she had stated to be her son's father was not so; but that a king was his father, and her son himself knew it not. This confession being laid before the Pope (Alexander III.), she was commanded in her penance to inform her son of his real parentage as soon as she saw him. Not long after her return home, she sailed to the Faroë Islands, and told Sverri that he was the son of King Sigurd Munn."¹ This is no doubt a flight of Sverri's vivid imagination; for Saxo Grammaticus definitely states that he was the son of the smith, *i.e.*, the armourer.² At any rate, it is certain that he was unruly and unfitted to be a priest, that he returned to Norway in 1176, put himself at the head of a band of outlaws, gave out that he was an illegitimate son of King Sigurd, claimed the throne of Norway, and endeavoured to drive its possessor, Magnus, from it.

By the old law of Norway, indeed, illegitimacy was no obstacle to the crown; but such an indulgence obviously opened the way to the claims of impostors, and it had, as a matter of fact, been the cause of dreadful disorders in Norway.³ It had therefore been decided, at the time of the coronation of King Magnus (1164),⁴ that in future only

¹ *Saga*, c. 4. Of our historians, William of Newburgh simply calls him (iii. 6) a "very notorious priest," but the author of the *Gesta Henrici*, an. 1180, the son of Sigurd, i. 268, R. S.

² Lib. xiv. p. 613, ed. Holder. "Suerus quidam, fabro patre genitus, sacerdocii, quod in Ferogia aliquandiu gesserat, partibus abdicatis, Noruagiam petens, religionis munus milicia mutavit."

³ Cf. Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.*, an. 1194, iii. 72, R. S.

⁴ He had been crowned in the presence of the papal legate, Stephen of Orvieto. According to Sverri's *Saga*, c. 89, Magnus himself said: "I was . . . seven years old when consecrated king by the legate from Rome and Archbishop Eysteinn, assisted by all the people's bishops of this land."

legitimate sons were to be allowed to succeed to the crown of Norway and, under ordinary circumstances, the eldest son was to be the successor. As a further means of putting an end to the violent methods by which for a very long time the throne of Norway had been obtained, "the nobility of that country, a little before the usurpation of this priest, being actuated by pious zeal to apply a remedy to this disgraceful evil . . . decreed that the new king should be solemnly consecrated with holy unction, and crowned, so that in future none might dare to lift his hand against the Lord's anointed."¹

Magnus, therefore, had by the laws of Norway every claim to the throne. But Sverri realised that these laws were recent, and that ancient custom could well be pleaded against them. At any rate, he determined to get the crown of Norway if he could, and, as he was as able as he was unscrupulous, he at length, after some seven years' desperate fighting, obtained his end. King Magnus perished in a sea-fight (1184), and Sverri became the "sole ruler over all Norway," "seven years after the name of king was given him."² Next year (1185), he completed his breaches of the laws of Norway, of the Church, and of God by marrying a second wife while his first was still alive.³

When a man of Sverri's past history and domineering spirit became sole ruler in Norway, it was to be expected that in any case he would attack the Church, not merely because, as a priest, he had so grievously outraged her laws, but because his lust of power could not suffer any other authority but his own in the land. Moreover, the

Sverri and
the Church
of Norway.

¹ Will. of N., *L.c.* "For," continues William, "up to that time no one in that country had ever been consecrated king by an ecclesiastical ceremony, but whoever had cruelly killed the king from that moment assumed the regal character and power, shortly to leave the same fortune to his murderer by the law of an inveterate custom."

² Saga, c. 100; *Gesta Henrici*, i. 320.

³ Saga, cc. 100 and 122.

bishops had, as in duty bound, persistently opposed his unbridled ambition, and their chief, Archbishop Eystein (or Augustine), had excommunicated him before leaving his diocese for England (1180).¹ Sverri was not the man to forget the action of the bishops and their chief.

Archbishop
Eric.

At some time after the archbishop's return from England (1183), he is said to have absolved the king, and shortly before he died (January 1188), to have even declared that he regretted his opposition to him.² At any rate, Sverri opposed the election to the vacant archiepiscopal see (Nidaros, or Drontheim) of Eric, bishop of Stavanger, who "had been specially recommended by Archbishop Eystein."³ However, he at last gave way, Eric was elected (1188), and went to Rome to obtain permission to pass from one see to another, and to ask for the pallium.⁴

It was not long after his return from Rome with the pallium that the struggle between him and King Sverri began. Like Henry II. in his dealings with St. Thomas Becket, Sverri covered his real design of being absolute master of the Church by at first attacking the archbishop concerning matters which had no direct connection with his spiritual powers. He complained of monetary privileges which Eystein had obtained for his see on the occasion of the coronation of King Magnus,⁵ and of the archbishop's exceeding the state allowed him by the law,

¹ *Gesta Hen.*, an. 1180, i. 268 f., R. S. We know from the *Chron.* of Joc. de Brakelond that Eystein was entertained at the monastery of St. Edmunds from August 9, 1181, to about February 1182. Cf. pp. 5 and 43 of Tomlins' translation. Sverri's Saga says nothing about this excommunication, but (c. 78) simply notes: "Archbishop Eystein had arrived from England early in the summer (1183), having been there for three years, absent from his see."

² Saga, cc. 78, 107. Sverri himself is the only authority for this unlikely assertion.

³ *Ib.*, c. 108.

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 111.

⁵ *Ib.*, c. 112.

in that he sailed a ship "having twenty benches, manned by ninety men or more, and bedecked with shields from stem to stern."¹ But, as is clear from his biography, and especially from his "apology" or reasoned plea which he put forth somewhat later in his own defence,² he wished to interfere with the absolute essentials of Church government, with the right of the Church to elect and place her own officers. He insisted that those who built churches at their own cost on their homesteads should not only have control over them, but should have the appointment of the priests thereto;³ that it should be the right of the king to choose what bishops or abbots he thought fit, and to appoint them as he chose;⁴ and, seemingly, that clerics should be amenable to the secular courts.⁵

With regard to some of the points put forth by Sverri, there was obviously room for compromise; but we are told that Eric, producing "God's Roman law, and a part of the Pope's brief which he had with the Pope's seal . . ." declared: "The Pope of Rome set me to manage this see and the property of the see; therefore I have rightful control over the property; moreover, it is God's property and holy men's. . . . It will not seem honourable, when told in other lands, that the archbishop may not decide for himself to whom he shall give his meat and clothes; while your bailiffs . . . may have as large companies as they like, fall upon the yeomen, and take meat

¹ *Ib.*, c. 117.

² Sverri's *Apology* (*Anecdoton Sverreri*) has been translated by Sephton, and printed by him at the end of his translation of Sverri's Saga, p. 241 ff.

³ Saga, c. 117; *Anecdoton*, p. 251 f.

⁴ *Anecd.*, p. 254 ff.

⁵ At any rate, in the confirmation of the privileges of the see of Nidaros by Celestine III., ep. 162, June 13, 1194, ap. *P. L.*, t. 206, p. 1039 ff., that Pope forbade clerics to submit clerical cases to the secular courts: "clericis vero in causis, canonico jure prohibitis, interdiximus penitus sæculare judicium."

and ale from them unlawfully, and yet the owner shall be fain that he is not robbed of more."¹

Papal
action with
regard to
Sverri; (a)
that of
Celestine
III.;

As Sverri would not listen to Eric's pleas, the latter fled to Archbishop Absalom at Lund (1191 or 2).² Thence the two archbishops despatched a letter to Rome giving a detailed account of the doings of King Sverri, especially towards his archbishop.³ For this statement we have the authority of Sverri's Saga, which goes on to state that the Pope pronounced the king excommunicated; that his sentence was "read aloud" in Denmark; and that "every Sunday the ban upon King Sverri was proclaimed in the chancel (1193)." The same document further informs us that Sverri took no notice of this sentence, giving out that "it was an invention of the Danes, and not a message from the Pope."⁴ The Saga further states that a papal legate appeared in Norway, and, after listening to Sverri's story, would have crowned him but for the information regarding his conduct furnished him by the clergy. Finding that he would not crown him, Sverri, pretending that he had only come to Norway to make money, bade him leave the kingdom.⁵

However, whether Celestine actually excommunicated Sverri by name or not in 1193, as appears from the Saga, he certainly in the following year excommunicated in general terms all who interfered with the privileges of the see of Nidaros, especially with those which had been granted by King Magnus (June 13, 1194).⁶

Despite this, Sverri forced the bishops to crown him (June 29, 1194),⁷ and continued his tyrannical career, though he ceased not, through his agents, to negotiate with Rome (1195).⁸ On their return journey, in com-

¹ Saga, c. 117.

² *Ib.*, c. 117.

³ *Ib.*, c. 121.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ *Ib.*, c. 122.

⁶ Ep. 162, *l.c.*

⁷ Saga, c. 123; Roger of Hoveden, an. 1194, iii. 270 ff.

⁸ Saga, cc. 124, 128.

pany with Fidantius, cardinal-priest of St. Marcellus, his envoys along with the papal legate all died of poison, so it was said by some, in Denmark (1197).¹ Certain Danes, however, afterwards brought the Pope's letter to Norway, and Sverri bought it from them. Then, showing the Pope's seal, the king produced a document which set forth "that, as soon as the Pope knew for certain that the king spoke more truthfully than the archbishop, he freed the king and his whole realm from all excommunication."²

This document was, of course, a forgery, as we might be sure from conjecture, and as we actually know from the express declaration of Innocent to the bishops of Norway.³

Still Sverri was not altogether satisfied with his position ; ^{(b) that of Innocent} and no sooner did he hear that a new Pope had ascended ^{III.} the pontifical throne, than he sent his envoys to him. But Innocent would not listen to their pleadings ; accounted their master as excommunicated ;⁴ assured the bishops of Norway that, if the envoys should claim to have obtained any concessions from him, they had got them from forgers ;⁵ and called on the kings of Denmark and Sweden to take action against Sverri.⁶ The kings, however, could not or would not move, and Sverri, throwing in his lot with our own tyrant King John, and receiving

¹ Danish annals (*Ann. Nestvedenses min.*, and *Lundenses*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix. pp. 182 and 206) assign the death of the cardinal to 1197. Cf. Saga, c. 128.

² Saga, *l.c.*

³ Ep. i. 382, October 6, 1198. "Qui (Sverri) ut amplius vos et universum Norwagiæ populum circumveniret et auctoritate apostolica regnum sibi ostenderet confirmatum, b. m. Cœlestini P. . . . bullam falsare non timuit, qua varias litteras sigillavit."

⁴ Ep. i. 320, July 30, 1198, and i. 382 ; *Gesta Inn.*, c. 59.

⁵ Of whom, he added, he had in the beginning of his pontificate caused many to be seized with false seals (*bullæ*) in their possession. i. 382.

⁶ i. 383.

from him "two hundred warriors of those called Ribbalds,"¹ contrived by the sword to hold his throne till the hour of his death (1202).

The successors of Sverri.

After the death of Sverri, Archbishop Eric returned to Norway, and received a letter from Innocent expressing joy that calm had at last followed the storm, and that the new king, Hako III.,² was fortunately not following in the evil footsteps of his father, but was governing his country in peace.³ With a view to helping the preservation of this peace, Innocent very sternly forbade the clergy to carry arms.⁴

Unfortunately, however, the tranquillity of the country was disturbed by a rapid succession of kings. Within five years of the death of Sverri four kings had sat upon the throne of Norway, perhaps more than one of them dying by poison. In the midst of the warlike confusion fostered by the consequent weakness of the central authority, the eyes of many turned to the Pope in the hope that his mediation might promote the interests of peace. Letters were sent to him calling upon him to intervene, and apparently the last of his letters to Norway which has come down to us was one addressed to the archbishop of Nidaros asking him to send further information as to the proposed mediation, "that he might be able to proceed more securely in the matter."⁵

¹ Saga, c. 174.

² Sverri had declared him his heir, *ib.*, c. 180.

³ Ep. vi. 214, January 24, 1204. The letter, however, blamed Eric for venturing on his own authority to absolve those whom the Pope had himself excommunicated. Eric did not in consequence lose Innocent's favour, but obtained from him the solemn confirmation of the privileges of his see. Ep. viii. 214, February 13, 1205.

⁴ ix. 6, March 1, 1206.

⁵ xiv. 73, June 7, 1211. In all probability nothing came of this proposed mediation, as Innocent himself states in this letter that the leaders "Birkibanorum" (the Birkebeiner, Birchlegs, the robber-soldiers of Sverri) would never submit to his judgment.

ICELAND, GREENLAND, LIVONIA, AND FINLAND.

One of the chief cities in Norway in the days of Innocent, as at the present time, was the city of Bergen, and there, says an historian of his age, you might meet men and ships from Iceland, Greenland, England, Germany, Sweden, and Gothland.¹ Not all the traders, however, who found their way to the port of Bergen were honest men, and among the dishonest ones were some of those who belonged to the diocese of Bergen itself. The bishop of Bergen had complained to Innocent that some merchants, who had been commissioned to collect in Iceland certain tithes that belonged to his Church, kept them for themselves. In his reply the Pope commissioned the bishop by the use of ecclesiastical censures to compel the merchants to restore their ill-gotten gains, and authorised him to proclaim that the Holy See would not listen to any appeals from them on the subject.²

This is not the only reference to Iceland in the Register of Innocent. At this period the people in that island,³ which it was thought must, from its wildness, have been created by the devil, were as instinct with life as in the more favoured countries of Europe. There was in that desolate country the greatest religious, literary, political, and commercial activity. The spiritual needs of the island were looked after by two bishops, some twenty to thirty Benedictine, Augustinian, and Cistercian abbots, and a considerable number of monks and priests. But political dissensions, helped by the struggles between Church and State, kept the people perpetually fighting,

¹ *Hist. de profectione Danor. in Terram Sanctam*, c. 11, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix. p. 162.

² Ep. i. 217, May 26, 1198.

³ Cf. *supra*, vol. vi. p. 75 ff.

and the continued perpetration of deeds of violence engendered a general lawlessness which ultimately led to the loss of Icelandic independence.¹

To curb the prevailing licence in Iceland was one of the very many laudable endeavours of Innocent. He reminded its bishops and clergy and its princes that, far off as their island was from the rest of the world, it was not outside the jurisdiction of the Roman Church, "which not by the will of man but by that of God was set over each and all the churches throughout the world." Then, after noting that the abbot whom they had sent to him had lost their letters at sea, he assured them that he had, however, instructed him regarding the political and religious state of the country. From what the abbot had told him, he found it necessary, he said, to find fault with the people for their constant murders, burnings, and impurities, and also for presuming to communicate with the apostate excommunicated King Sverri. But he was much afraid, he continued, that the clergy by their remissness were much to blame for the sad state of things in their country, and so, exhorting them to oppose a strong wall of resistance to these evils, he promised them, "when he had found a man after his own heart," to send him to them, in order that he might give them all the necessary instructions. Finally, he urged the laity to obey their clergy in what pertained to God, and to occupy themselves in works of piety, especially in almsgiving.²

Whether or not Innocent ever sent to Iceland a man "after his own heart," he unfortunately did not succeed in putting an end to that regime of violent turbulence which

¹ The union of Iceland to Norway took place in 1262-4. Cf. C. A. V. Conybeare, *The Place of Iceland in the Hist. of European Institutions*, p. 121 ff., Oxford, 1877.

² Epp. i. 320-1, July 30, 1198.

resulted in the decay of Icelandic vitality and in the loss of their political independence.¹

If the only connection of Innocent with Greenland ^(Greenland, Livonia, etc.) which history has preserved for us is his confirmation of the bull of Anastasius IV. subjecting it to Nidaros,² a series of letters show his interest in the settlement of Christianity among the heathens to the east and south of the Baltic, in Finland, Livonia, Prussia, and Pomerania. Informed by the archbishop of Lund of the good administrative work which was being accomplished by Peter, bishop of the Finnish seaport town of Abo, he wrote most graciously to approve of what he was doing.³ After Peter's death, as there was no eagerness for a see which, as the Pope wrote, was more likely to bring martyrdom than honour, Innocent authorised the archbishop of Lund to appoint to it a man who, though of illegitimate birth, was endowed with learning and piety, and had already preached to its people and suffered in their behalf.⁴

Along the shores of the Baltic, south of Esthonia and north of the river Döna (Dwina), dwelt the Livonians or Lieflanders, who, as we learn from Innocent, gave "to the beasts of the field, the trees of the forest, the limpid streams, the green shrubs and unclean spirits the worship due to God."⁵ We are, moreover, informed by the same Pope that Meinhard, the first bishop of Livonia, had in-

¹ Before leaving the North Sea we may cite ep. i. 218, in which the Pope demands the payment of Peter's Pence due from the Orkneys. Cf. *supra*, vol. x. 222 n.

² Ep. viii. 214, February 13, 1206.

³ i. 373, September 26, 1198. "Prout . . . in authentico scripto ven. frat. nostri Absalonis Lunden. archiepiscopi expressius continetur."

⁴ xii. 102, October 30, 1209. The Pope herein speaks of Finland, which through the solicitude of certain nobles had recently been converted to the Christian faith.

⁵ Ep. Inn. 25, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, October 5, 1199.

structed many of them in the true faith.¹ This worthy bishop died two years before the pontificate of Innocent, during which took place the general conversion of the Livonians.² As the new Christians were very cruelly treated by their pagan neighbours, Innocent exerted himself to stir up the adjoining Christian nations to their defence. He exhorted the people of Saxony, Westphalia, and other adjoining parts to defend them by force of arms,³ permitting such as had vowed to fight in the Holy Land or to go on any distant pilgrimage to proceed to Livonia instead. He also encouraged the new military order of Knights Templars, properly known as the Knights of the Sword. They had been instituted by a Cistercian, brother Theoderic, a man much employed by Albert, the third bishop of Livonia (1201), "and Pope Innocent gave them the rule of the Knights Templars; commanded them to wear on their tunics and cloaks the sign of the sword and the cross, and subjected them to the control of the bishop."⁴

A Livonian
prince in
Rome,
1203.

Seeing the interest that the Pope took in the work of the conversion of Livonia, the same brother Theoderic took to Rome one of the Livonian princes, Caupo by name.⁵ Innocent received him with the greatest kindness, "kissed him, and, asking him many questions about the peoples on the borders of Livonia, congratulated him on the conversion of his country. On his departure the

¹ ii. 191, October 5, 1199.

² Cf. *Gesta Inn.*, c. 127; *Ann. Senenses*, an. 1216, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. 227; *Canonici Sambiensis Ann.*, an. 1204, ap. *ib.*, p. 700; and Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, v. 30. See especially the accurate chronicle (1186-1227) of the priest Henry *de Lettis*, i.e., of Lettland (ed. Arndt, either ap. *M. G. SS.*, xviii., or *in usum scholarum*), *Lib.*, iii. p. 9 ff.; and pp. 38, 42 of the latter ed. To Henry, Innocent is "most holy."

³ Ep. 25, *l.c.* Cf. ii. 191, vii. 139, October 10, 1204, to the clergy of Bremen on the same lines.

⁴ Henry, *ib.*, p. 14. Cf. vii. 141.

⁵ "Qui quasi rex et senior Lyvonum." Henry, *ib.*, p. 17.

Pope gave him with the greatest cordiality not merely his blessing, but a hundred gold pieces, and he, moreover, gave Theoderic as a present for his bishop a book of the Blessed Pope Gregory," no doubt *The Pastoral Care*.¹ His kind reception by the Pope made a great impression upon the Livonian chieftain, and we are assured that, after his return from Rome, he remained "most faithful."²

But the propagation of the faith by the Cross and by the sword, by peaceful and by violent means, led to difficulties between Albert, bishop of Livonia, or now of Riga,³ and the Knights of the Sword. The Knights claimed a third of the conquered territory and other privileges which the bishop would not grant. The affair was referred to Rome,⁴ and was at length brought to a satisfactory close through the mediation of the Pope.⁵ The Knights were to have a third of the territories of Livonia, and were to have the patronage of the churches on their lands. Their Grand Master was, however, to promise obedience to the bishop of Riga, and a fourth part of the tithes paid by the tenants of the Order was to go to the bishop.⁶

Innocent continued to watch over the establishment of the Church in this distant province and in that of the adjoining province of Esthonia, and we find him arranging for the establishment of a second bishopric in Livonia, working for the protection of the converts, and definitely freeing the bishops both of Livonia and Esthonia from dependence on any see but that of Rome.⁷

History brings Innocent in touch with Livonia for the

Disagree-
ment between the
bishop of
Livonia
and the
Knights of
the Sword.

Riga freed
from de-
pendence
on any
metro-
politan.

Albert at
the Lateran
Council,
1215.

¹ *Ib.* Cf. p. 24 for other favours granted to Albert by the Pope.

² *Ib.*, pp. 34, 38.

³ Alberic, *Chron.*, an. 1201, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. 879.

⁴ Discord arose "Ita ut multum contra ipsum in Curia Romana laborarent." Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, v. c. 30.

⁵ Ep. xiii. 141, October 20, 1210. "Mediantibus demum nobis."

⁶ *Ib.* Cf. xiii. 142, and Henry, *Chron. Liv.*, l.c., pp. 42 f. and p. 82.

⁷ Epp. xvi. 119 (October 10, 1213), 129; 182 (February 20, 1214).

last time in connection with the Lateran Council. Both Albert of Livonia and Theoderic of Dorpat (in Esthonia) were present at that splendid assembly of Catholic Europe, and the historian of Livonia tells us with pride how the Pope and all the bishops rejoiced to hear what Albert had to tell them of the conversion of the heathens and of the triumphs of the Knights of the Sword. Innocent promised to have the same care of Livonia as he had of Jerusalem, and sent the bishops away rejoicing in the renewal of all their privileges. "Rome," concludes the historian, "gives laws, but Riga gives the waters of life (*rigat*) to the Gentiles."¹

Prussia.

Innocent was also interested in another Slavonic country, in Prussia, wherein Christianity had been preached by St. Adalbert some two centuries before the former became Pope.² But the Prussians were a very savage people, and regarded those who attempted to effect a change in their religion as men who were conspiring with Poles, Danes, and Germans to deprive them of their freedom. Christianity had made very little progress among them in two centuries. But now other apostles, in the persons of the Cistercian monks Christian, Philip, and others, were, with the authorisation of the Pope,³ working among them. Considerable success attended their efforts, and in 1209 they went to Rome to report to the Pope the progress they had made, and the difficulties they had met with.⁴ Innocent encouraged them in their noble

¹ Henry, *l.c.*, p. 126. "Roma dictat jura, Riga vero rigat gentes." According to Hurter, i. 288 n., Peter of Riga put the Bible into verse in the first half of the thirteenth century.

² *Cf. supra*, vol. iv. p. 373.

³ "Christianus, Philippus, et quidam alii monachi . . . ad partes Prussiæ de nostra licentia . . . accesserunt." Ep. xiii. 128, September 4, 1210. *Cf. xv.* 147.

⁴ *Ib.* *Cf.* Wyatt, *Hist. of Prussia*, i. 30 f.; Maclear, *Apostles of Mediæval Europe*, p. 264 ff. There seems to be in modern authors no little diversity as to some of the leading dates in connection with

efforts, and by letters to the archbishop of Gnesen,¹ to the various Cistercian abbots, and the princes of Poland and Pomerania,² endeavoured to lessen the many difficulties they had to encounter. In his letter to the princes he earnestly exhorted them to cease from making the conversion of the Prussians an excuse for loading them with burdens. The new converts, as little able to bear them as old bottles are to contain new wine, will, if so treated, simply relapse into their old errors.

Relying seemingly on the Prussian chronicle³ of Peter of Duisburg, a priest of the Teutonic order who died in 1336, it is stated by many that Christian came to Rome again about the year 1214, and was consecrated bishop by the Pope. Despite all his efforts, however, very little progress was made during Innocent's pontificate with the conversion of the Prussians. As soon as some were converted, they were slain by the others. Their savagery had to be tamed by the sword before the truths of Christianity made much impression on them.

the career of Christian. It is certain at any rate that he was in Rome before Innocent wrote ep. xiii. 128, for he says of Christian and his companions, "nuper ad sedem apostolicam venientes."

¹ *Ib.*

² *Cf.* epp. xv. 147-8, August 10 and 13, 1212.

³ Ed. Hartknoch, Jena, 1679. *Cf.* also Alzog, *Universal Ch. Hist.*, ii. 576 f.; Hergenröther, *Hist. de l'Église*, iv. 191 f.

BOOK V.

HERESY AND REFORM.

CHAPTER I.

THE ALBIGENSIANS.

Sources.—Almost all the contemporary chroniclers may be designated as sources for the history of the Albigensians during the pontificate of Innocent III., inasmuch as they nearly all have something to say about them. There are, however, four historians who have treated of the war in connection with them *ex professo*. Two of these authors wrote in prose, and two in verse; and if all of them were Catholics, they did not all write in the same spirit. The prose writers were the Cistercian monk Pierre des Vaux de Cernai and William of Puylaurens, chaplain of Raymond VII. from 1242 to 1249. The former accompanied his uncle Guy, who was abbot of his monastery, first on the Fourth Crusade, and then in that against the Albigensians. He was beyond doubt an uncompromising partisan of de Montfort and his Crusaders, and an ardent believer in the faith for which they fought, but he says that his one object in compiling his history was "to tell the simple truth in a simple way," and that "those things which he has set forth are true, because he has stated nothing but what he had himself seen or had heard from persons of great authority and completely trustworthy."¹ A comparison between his story and other reliable documents goes to show that he has in fact told the truth.

While Pierre was strictly contemporary with the events which he described and of which he took note as they happened, the other prose writer, William of Puylaurens, to-day the chief city

¹ See his dedicatory letter to Pope Innocent III.

in the department of the Tarn, was not so strictly a contemporary, and, while he may have written his work at two different times,¹ there is nothing to *prove* that he wrote any of it till the year 1273. He was not born till about the year 1205, so that though he was at Toulouse during the most critical period of the Albigensian war, he was very young. He got much of his information from the old count Raymond VI. His clerical position naturally led him to be favourable to the counts of Toulouse, and his chronological position to be more accurate when he came to speak of his lord Raymond VII., as he was then speaking as an eye-witness. He died about the year to which he brought down his history (c. 1273).

In 1837 Fauriel published in Paris a Provençal poem, generally spoken of as *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeois*, which he ascribed to one man, the troubadour, William of Tudela. But, since the time that Meyer published his superior edition of the *Chanson* (1875-1879), it has been recognised that William only composed the first portion of it to the end of verse 2768 (chap. cxxxi.). William wrote under the patronage of Baldwin, the brother of Raymond VI., but only after his patron had attached himself to the fortunes of Simon de Montfort in 1211. At best he is but a quaint poet writing from second-hand information. He constantly refers for his facts to a history which he trusts is truth-telling ("si la gesta no ment," c. 35, v. 806), and regrets that he had not been present with the Crusaders, otherwise his book would have been more useful and his song better ("E mielher la cansos," c. 46, v. 845). His fellow-poet, whose name is not known, appears to have been a native of Toulouse. At any rate, he worked under the patronage of Roger Bernart, son of the count of Foix, and was a fiery partisan of the Albigensian cause. The work of William describes the events from 1210 to 1213, that of the anonymous continuator those from 1213 to 1219, about which last date he may be supposed to have written. It is better, both as poetry and as history, than the work of William.

There exists also a mutilated prose history in Provençal of the Albigensian war, written probably by a lawyer. But it is only a

¹ The first thirty-seven chapters in 1250, and the rest in 1273.

loose version with some additions of the *Chanson*, and was drawn up in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Its anonymous author, in hatred of the Holy See, has not hesitated at times to falsify the material supplied to him by the poet. Pierre des Vaux de Cernai is then our best authority. His work and that of William may both be read ap. *R. F. SS.*, t. xix. But the text of neither is satisfactory; and Luchaire and his pupils have issued (Paris, 1908) a new version of the first thirty-eight chapters of Pierre, and Beyssier has published another edition of William's chronicle (Paris, 1904).¹ We have used these later editions, though Beyssier's numbering of the chapters is confused. Pierre may also be read ap. *P. L.*, t. 213, and extracts from him and from the other authors on the Albigenian war, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. Guizot (Paris, 1824) has given a French translation of William of Puy-laurens and of the prose Provençal history. A. Molinier's *Catalogue des Actes de Simon et d'Amauri de Montfort*, Paris, 1874, will also be found useful, especially for chronological purposes. The third volume of *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, by dom Vaissete, etc., Paris, 1730, contains a large number of valuable documents; and the fourth volume of F. Raynouard's *Choix des poésies des Troubadours*, Paris, 1816, contains the historical, moral, and religious poems of the Troubadours, which throw some light on the Albigenian heresy. The poems are only given in the original language. Of special importance for the belief and practice of the Albigenes are the works of Stephen de Bourbon, "the least of the Order of the Friars Preachers," as he calls himself. He died about 1261, after having been an inquisitor for some twenty-five years. The most important parts of his works have been edited by A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877) under the title of *Anecdotes historiques*.

Modern Works.—A number of articles in the *Revue des Quest. hist.*: vol. i. 1866, "Un épisode de la croisade des Albigeois: le sac de Béziers et le mot 'Tuez-les tous,'" by T. de Larroque, p. 168 ff.; "Les hérétiques italiens aux xiii^e et xiv^e siècles," p. 469 ff., by C. Cantù; 1867, "La guerre des A. et Alphonse de

¹ Cf. C. de Smedt, "Les sources de l'hist. de la croisade contres les Albigeois," ap. *Rev. des quest. hist.*, October 1874, p. 433 ff., and the *introductions* to their editions of the modern authors cited in the text.

Poitiers," p. 155 ff., by E. Boutarie; 1870, "L'hérésie des Bogomiles en Bosnie," p. 479 ff., by L. Leger; 1874, de Smedt's article just quoted; 1882, "Un épisode des croisades contre les A.: Le siège de Carcassonne," p. 121 ff., by G. Douais; 1894, January, "Les origines de l'hérésie Albigeoise," p. 50 ff., by E. Vacandard; 1904, January, "Le 'Consolamentum' Cathare," by J. Guiraud; 1905, January, "Les idées morales chez les hétérodoxes latins au xiii^e siècle," p. 185 ff., by J. Guiraud, in which last article a well-deserved adverse criticism is passed on *Les idées morales chez les hétérodoxes latins au debut du xiii^e siècle*, by P. Alphandéry, Paris, 1903; and 1906, a series of articles by Vidal, already quoted *supra*, vol. x. p. 269 f. In addition to the works already cited on the Albigenian question, further works of C. Douais and J. Guiraud may be mentioned. To the former's *Les Albigeois* add his *L'Albigéisme à Narbonne au xiii^e siècle*, Paris, 1894, and to the latter's three most valuable papers in his *Questions d'histoire*, Paris, 1906, add his introduction to the *Cartulaire de Prouille*, 1907. See also *Albi and the Albigenians*, by R. Twigge, ap. *The Dublin Review*, 1894, p. 309 ff.



Seal of Count Raymond VII. of Toulouse, A.D. 1228.

"Albigensianism" before Innocent III.

THE history of previous pontificates has shown that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries various heretics appeared from time to time, especially in France, whose common doctrinal basis was Manicheism, and concerning whom the writers who speak of them almost always note that "they detested matrimony."¹ At each fresh discovery of the existence of these sects, kings and emperors, bishops and popes passed decrees against them, and peoples and kings put some of their adherents to death.² Still, it repressed in one place, they were not extinguished; but, as they propagated their doctrines more or less in secret, they reappeared in another. Churches, meanwhile, continued to call on the Holy See for instruction as to how to deal with them;³ and at last distracted rulers, like Raymond V., count of Toulouse, who found himself at the very headquarters of the heretics, called upon the kings of England and France to draw the material sword against them, as the spiritual availed nothing (1177).⁴ This they were disposed to do; but they were persuaded to make another effort to convert the sectaries by the sword of the Spirit and of the Word instead. Their effort was fruitless, and, as we shall soon see, after the failure of similar efforts by the Pope, they were to be again called upon to draw the temporal sword against these neo-Manicheans.⁵ This time it was the spiritual authority

¹ Cf. *supra*, vol. vi. 66, and viii. 151 f. Cf. "Forbidding to marry," etc., 1 Tim. iv. 3.

² *Ib.*, vi. 66, x. 66, 144 ff., and 257 ff.

³ See the letter to Rome of the Church of Liège, in 1145, ap. *ib.*, ix. p. 123 ff.

⁴ *Ib.*, vol. x. p. 145.

⁵ Some authors appear to be under the impression that the Pope condemned certain simple Christians who had translated the Bible or parts of it into French and instructed one another in its teachings. Innocent, on the contrary, definitely stated that there was nothing wrong in that, and he was careful to remind the authorities that

that called upon them to draw the sword, and the result of the appeal was very different.

The reason why rulers were, generally speaking, so violently opposed to the Cathari, the Good Men, the Patarenes, *Bulgarians*, or Albigensians (men whose doctrines were fundamentally the same, even if they called themselves or were called by different names), was because of their dangerous practices, which they attempted to justify by tenets which were strikingly irrational. Without entering into minute details, or dwelling on the hostility of the Good Men to the Church in its dogmas, organisation, and worship, it may suffice to point out once more that they were not content with believing that there were two equal and antagonistic beings, the one good and the other evil, and that all material things were made by the evil being, but they proceeded to put into act many of the baneful but logical deductions from their theories.¹ Their propositions concerning the intrinsic

The doctrines of the "Albigensians."

heresy was one thing and religious simplicity another. "Licet autem desiderium intelligendi divinas Scripturas, et secundum eas, studium adhortandi reprehendum non sit, *sed potius commendandum*," etc. But he did object to these Christians of Metz using inaccurate translations, holding secret conventicles in the dark, despising the clergy, and condemning those who were not of their way of thinking, etc. Ep. ii. 141-2 and 235.

¹ In addition to the authorities we have already cited on the doctrines of the Albigensians, see Pierre des V., c. 2. "Duos constituebant creatores, invisibilium quem vocabant benignum Deum, et visibilium quem malignum Deum nuncupant . . . Christus ille qui natus est in Bethlehem . . . malus fuit. Bonus autem Christus . . . numquam comedit . . . nec unquam fuit in hoc mundo, nisi spiritualiter in corpore Pauli." Like many more modern heretics, they were fond of calling the Church of Rome the harlot of the Apocalypse. "Sacrum matrimonium meretricium esse." Some of the heretics, because there was no uniformity in their teachings, appear to have held very disreputable views indeed. "Quidam dicebant quod nullus peccare poterat ab umbilico et inferius . . . (et) quod non peccabat quis gravius dormiendo cum matre vel sorore sua quam cum qualibet alia." Pierre correctly adds that the Waldenses held much less perverse views, but

evil of matter led them to condemn marriage,¹ *i.e.*, to aim at the extinction of the race, and their refusal to take oaths made them the enemies of society as then constituted; for that rested almost entirely on the feudal oath. And if in actual life no very serious harm might have followed their belief that to become an Albigensian was the sure and sole road to salvation, provided no practical conclusion had been evolved from it, very great mischief did actually result from their putting into execution a practice which they called "endura." After the reception by a Good Man of the *Consolamentum*, a kind of sacrament which they gave to the sick, he was persuaded or forced to refrain from food, and so to die;

among other errors "dicebant nulla ratione jurandum vel occidendum." As we have said, the Cathari also held "mortale esse jurare." Cf. Bonacursus, once one of their leaders, *Libel. contra Catharos*, c. 10, ap. *P. L.*, t. 204, p. 783. Cf. St. Bernard, serm. 65 in *Cantica*, n. 2. Cf. serm. 66.

¹ "Nuptias damnant," n. 3, "Omne conjugium vocant fornicationem," n. 4, of the letter of Provost Evervinus appended to serm. 64 S. Bernard, in *Cantica*. Raoul l'Ardent, a monk of Poitiers, preaching to the people towards the close of the eleventh century (*Homil.*, 19, ap. *P. L.*, t. 155, p. 2011), bade them beware of the "Manichean heretics" of the day who professed that "they would never take an oath, and, under pretence of abstinence and continence, condemned the use of flesh-meat and of marriage. . . . And what is worse, they proclaim two authors of creation, holding God to be the creator of the invisible, and the devil of the visible. Hence they secretly worship the devil, whom they believe to be the author of their body." Their devil worship is neatly expressed in the old *Li Romans S. Dominique*, quoted by J. Guiraud in his *S. Dominic*, London, 1901, p. 13.

"Toute la terre estoit semée
De la gent [*li bougres*, as they have just been called] ki Dieu
ont guerpi [abandoned]
Por faire honneur à l'ennemi."

For further information on the doctrines of the Albigenses see especially Stephen de Bourbon, *Anecd. hist.*, c. 342 ff., p. 290 ff.; and the sermons of Egbert, who made a special study of them, ap. *P. L.*, t. 195, p. 11 ff.

for if he died after receiving the *Consolamentum* he was sure of Paradise.¹

In a previous page attention has been called to the fact that a certain Basil about the beginning of the twelfth century revived in Constantinople the Manichean doctrines of the priest Bogomil. Repressed in the capital of the Eastern Empire, these noxious teachings spread over the Balkan provinces, taking such root in Bulgaria that those who professed them came to be known as Bulgarians.²

Revival of
Manichean
doctrines
in the West
in the
twelfth
century.

¹ *Supra*, vol. x. 259 ff. This terrible practice of the *endura* may be traced as far back as 1040 in Milan. There certain heretics were examined by Archbishop Heribert, who declared that they were opposed to matrimony and to the use of flesh-meat; that they did not recognise the Pope of Rome but another ("pontificem habemus non illum Romanum sed alium"); and that "not one of them ended his life except in torments, in order to avoid eternal torments." This the heretics explained to mean that, if they did not die in torments at the hands of their enemies, "one of their own number killed them—proximus noster antequam animam damus, quoquomodo interficit nos." No wonder that in those days of simpler life elders of the city (*majores laici*), despite the opposition of the archbishop (*volente Heriberto*), gave these fanatics the choice of conversion or the flames. See Landulf Senior, *Hist. Mediol.*, ii. 27, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv. Even in the middle of the thirteenth century Milan was the centre of a number of heretical sects. The *Annals of Marbach* speak of "Mediolanum ubi diversarum heresum et errorum primatus agebatur." Evervinus, *l.c.*, n. 6, also notes that some of the heretics had their own Pope, while some were content with rejecting the Pope of Rome.

² To the testimonies already adduced as to Bulgaria being the special seat of the Cathari, add the *Chanson*, v. 45, where we read of the papal legates holding a conference "with those of Bulgaria"; Robert of Auxerre, *Chron.*, an. 1207. "Per idem tempus Bulgarorum heresis execranda, errorum omnium fex extrema multus serpebat in locis tanto nocentius quanto latentius," ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 271; and Stephen of Bourbon, *Anecd. hist.*, c. 327, "Albigenses, dicti Patareni vel Bulgari." See also *ib.*, c. 530, "Manichæi sive Burgari," and c. 344, "Albigenses . . . dicuntur etiam Burgari, quia latibulum [their headquarters—their lair] eorum speciale est in Burgaria." L. Zanoni, however (*Gli Umiliati*, p. 31), suggests that in all these passages there is question of Burgaria, a district in the Milanese territory; but much of the evidence already given distinctly points to the Bulgaria of the Balkans.

From the Balkans "the Bulgarians" or their dogmas spread, as we have already seen, not only into Lombardy and France, but even into the Papal States.¹ Creeping along more or less in the dark, the teachers of the subversive tenets of Bogomil caused everywhere either a revival of decaying Manichean sects or a growth of fresh ones.

Raymond
VI.

The revival was most striking in the south of France, in the great county of Toulouse, with its viscounties of Nîmes, Béziers, and Carcassonne, and its seignories of Castres, Albi, Mirepoix, etc. The temporal lord of this great province, who held in fief from the king of France "as many cities as there are days in the year,"² was Raymond VI., "count of Toulouse, duke of Narbonne, and marquis of Provence." His father, Raymond V., thoroughly alive to the mischief which the teachings and practices of the Albigensians were working both in the Church and in the State, opposed them vigorously, and not only begged the Cistercians to come to preach to his people, but declared to them his conviction that it would be necessary to bring in the king of France to put the heretics down by force.³ Whether it was that attention to public affairs caused him to neglect his son's religious training, or whether it was that his weak and sensual disposition naturally inclined him to a sect whose doctrines would excuse some at least of his vices, Raymond VI. from a very early period showed a

¹ Cf., for instance, their history in Viterbo, ap. *Gesta*, c. 123; epp. ii. 1; viii. 85, 105; x. 105. Innocent visited Viterbo in 1207, and then made it into a bishopric in return for its hospitality, "having learned by experience their faith and devotion." Ep. x. 139. Evidently the heresy was then nearly dead at Viterbo. Cf. L. Fumi, *I Paterini in Orvieto*, Orvieto, 1875.

² William the Breton, *Philip*, viii. v. 491 ff.

³ See his letter ap. Gervase of Cant., i. 270, R. S.

strong liking for the Albigenses.¹ Later on he ever kept some of their leaders near him in order that, by the mere reception at the last moment of the *Consolamentum* (or laying-on of hands), he might be sure of salvation, no matter what kind of life he might have led.²

Moreover, without accepting all that Pierre des Vaux de Cernai has said about the character of Raymond VI., his acts show him weak and vacillating, his marriages and divorces prove him dissolute, and impartial testimony brands him as a violent oppressor of the Church.³ For his reckless plundering of Church property, Pope Celestine III. had, as early as the year 1196 (March 1), to threaten him with excommunication, interdict, and the releasing of his subjects from their allegiance.⁴

¹ "Quasi a primis cunabulis semper hereticos dilexit et fovit." Pierre, c. 4.

² *Ib.* "Usque hodie . . . sicut aperitur ubicumque pergīt, hereticos sub communi habitu secum ducit ut," etc.

³ William the Breton speaks of him as "Comes ille ferus," *Philip.*, viii. p. 510. Authors who wrote before the outbreak of the Albigensian Crusade denounce his plundering of Church property, and his employment of those cruel mercenaries, known as Routiers, Ribalds, etc., who were so often condemned in the councils and in the royal decrees of this period. With regard to his marriages, Pierre, *l.c.*, says he had four wives (he had really five altogether), of whom "three are still living." The same writer declares that "he had ascertained for certain, sorore propria abutebatur in contemptum religionis Christiane." After mentioning other immoral enormities, Pierre adds that for them and for his heresy his father often talked of disinheriting him. Moreover, "ruptarios . . . amplexatus est . . . per quos spoliabat ecclesias." For his free use of mercenaries, see also Will. of P., c. 6.

⁴ Ap. *R. F. SS.*, xix. p. 338 f.; or ep. 251, ap. *P. L.*, t. 206, p. 1155. Innocent, ep. i. 397, November 4, 1198, speaks as though Raymond had been actually excommunicated, and then had been reconciled: "ut reconciliatus fueris ecclesiasticæ unitati, a qua fueras ob tuorum excessuum multitudinem separatus." Cf. Vaissete, *Hist. de Languedoc*, iii. p. 111

Berenger
II., arch-
bishop of
Narbonne.

The one who held the greatest spiritual jurisdiction in the county of Toulouse was Berenger II., archbishop of Narbonne, and he set as bad an example in the Church as Raymond did in the State. He was justly denounced to the Pope as the cause of the innumerable evils in Languedoc, and it was said of him "that money was his god, and that he gloried in his shame. . . . Though," continued Innocent, "he has held the archiepiscopal chair for ten years . . . he has never once visited his province nor even his own see. Ashamed to give for nothing what he has received for nothing, he has exacted five hundred solidi for the consecration of the bishop of Maguelonne."¹ Innocent had, moreover, to blame him for disobeying his orders,² for not helping his legates whom he had sent to combat the heresy of the Cathari;³ for allowing his diocese to go to ruin whilst he was living at his ease in a monastery, benefiting his relatives;⁴ for employing mercenary soldiers, and conniving at their plundering; for keeping churches without vicars and prebends without prebendaries in order to retain their revenues for himself; and, in short, for permitting enormities of all kinds forbidden by the canons.⁵

The state
of morals
in Provence
and
Toulouse.

Unfortunately, Raymond and Berenger were not striking exceptions to the great mass of the nobility and clergy of Languedoc, but rather types of them. By the necessary

¹ Ep. iii. 24, November 8, 1200.

² *Ib.*

³ vi. 243, January 29, 1204.

⁴ vi. 81, May 30, 1203.

⁵ vii. 75, May 28, 1204. In the interests of the poor and trade, Innocent also blamed him for reinstituting a toll: "ubi de novo pedagium statuit." On June 26, 1205, Innocent ordered him to come to Rome, but still treated him with consideration "ut in nobis justitiam pariter et misericordiam inveniret." ix. 66, May 9, 1206. At length, however (ep. vii. 68, May 29, 1207), he ordered him to be removed from his office, as he did anything but fulfil the promises of amendment which he had made in Rome.

constant mutual action between a relaxed clergy and a depraved laity the moral tone of both parties was steadily lowered. The gay life led by the southern nobles, the deteriorating influence exerted on them by the effeminate songs and conspicuously easy morals of the Troubadours, had greatly relaxed the bonds of social discipline.¹ Wealth and luxury, combined with an enervating climate, had loosened them still more; and Jewish and Moslem elements, which had long had no little hold in Languedoc, militated against the formation of a strong Christian public opinion which might have been brought to bear upon them, and so have braced them up. The corruption of the noble families meant the corruption of the episcopate, as the episcopal elections were largely in their hands, and the bishops themselves mostly chosen from their ranks. An inferior episcopate meant an inferior lower clergy; and a poor body of clergy meant a still poorer body of laymen. How inferior were the clergy may be easily gathered from the letters of Innocent. According to him, if "the Prince of Provinces" is in a miserable condition, it is due "to the carelessness" and, in some cases, to the positive connivance of its bishops.² "All its prelates (*speculatores*) are blind, dumb dogs unable to bark, who with the unprofitable servant have tied up the talent entrusted to them in a napkin. . . . They do all things for the sake of money."³ They confer orders on the most

¹ By the habits of the Troubadours, "immorality was fostered as it has rarely been before or since," says J. F. Rowbotham, *The Troubadours*, p. 106. Cf. pp. 292 f. and 295 ff. Anglade, *Les Troubadours*, p. 196, notes: "Un fonds ineffable de paganisme caractérise les origines de la poésie des troubadours"; and that the Troubadour's conception of love "n'était pas moins contraire à la morale et même au dogme chrétien." P. 198. Cf. Dale, *National Life and Character in Early English Literature*, p. 214, Cambridge, 1907.

² "Per praelatorum incuriam . . . Scientibus ac dissimulantibus, imo etiam approbantibus quibusdam praelatis." Ep. iii. 24.

³ *Ib.* "Acceptores personarum et munerum."

unworthy, entrust churches even to heretics, and make themselves a byword to the laity.¹ Then, through the fault of the head, the limbs become corrupt. Monks in no small number, says the Pope, have thrown off their habits, broken their vows of chastity, devoted themselves to usury, gambling, hunting, and have taken up the professions of lawyers, doctors, and even of jongleurs (*joculatores*).² Clerics of this stamp could not but be despised. They became the butt of every worthless troubadour.

Such then being the clergy and laity of Toulouse, it is not surprising to find a northern bishop, Stephen of Tournay, who made an official visit there in 1181, speaking of the levity, cruelty, and immorality which he found everywhere rampant amongst its people.³

Power in the hands of the impure and the avaricious will, of course, be abused in the interests of their pet vices. Backed by troops of licentious mercenaries, bishops and nobles oppressed whomsoever they were able, and the worthy prelate whom we have just quoted paints a lurid picture of the desolation and ruins which he himself saw in Toulouse—ruined churches and homesteads wherein beasts had made their home.⁴ Innocent himself too, also writing some years before the Albigensian crusade, speaks of the churches which the laity had seized and fortified, and of the wars which Christians were waging against one another.⁵

The coming of the Albigenses.

In the midst of this fair but already distracted land

¹ Ep. iii. 24. "Ideo sicut populus sic sacerdos." Cf. vii. 75.

² vii. 75.

³ Ep. iv., ap. *R. F. SS.*, xix. 283. He congratulates a friend that he has not to go "ad Gothorum barbariem, ad levitatem Wasconum, ad crudeles et efferos mores Septimaniæ . . . ubi supra fidem infidelitas, supra fama fames . . . plus quam valeat æstimari."

⁴ *L.c.*, cf. ep. v., an. 1181.

⁵ Ep. iii. 24. "Ecclesiæ a laicis incastellatæ pro munitionibus, Christianis in Christianos inde guerras exercentibus."

appeared the Cathari or Albigenses in sombre clothes, with looks demure, and leading, some of them at least, ascetic lives,¹ spreading doctrines which did but greatly aggravate the evils they found, and finding their strongest arguments to deceive the unwary in the evil lives of some of the bishops and clergy.² At first in secret and then in public, as they gained followers, they taught a body of doctrines in which every man who wished for sanction *from above* for his own particular form of wrongdoing found justification. The Church of Rome was the harlot of the Apocalypse.³ The count of Toulouse and the nobility would, then, but be doing right in despoiling her. Under no circumstances was it lawful to take an oath. The viscounts might, therefore, refuse submission

¹ Will. of P. ; *Prolog.* "Habentes quidem speciem pietatis, virtutem ejus abnegantes."

² "Hæretici . . . incautos . . . tanto facilius post se trahunt, quanto ex vita ipsius archiepiscopi et aliorum prælatorum ecclesiæ, contra Ecclesiam sumunt perniciosius argumentum, et aliquorum crimina refundunt in Ecclesiam generalem." Ep. vii. 75.

³ This was also the language of most of their ardent supporters, the dissolute race of the Troubadours and their jongleurs. But though most of them, with the infamous William Figueira, invariably spoke in this style, some, like Peire Cardenal, would at times sing in another key, and profess their belief "in Rome and in St. Peter, who has been appointed the judge of penance and of good and evil ['de sens et de folie']." Ap. *Le Parnasse occitanien*, p. 324, Toulouse, 1819. A few, indeed, Perdigon, Izarn, and Fulk of Marseilles, sang with Dame Germonda or Gormonda of Marseilles : "Rome, thy laws ought to be strictly adhered to for ever Cursed be those heretics *who dread no vice* and believe no mystery," ap. Raynouard, *Choix*, iv. p. 319. Another of her replies to Figueira runs :—

"Trop se fenh arditz
Quar de Roma ditz
Mal, qu'es caps e guitz
De totz selhs qu'en terra
An bos esperitz."

On W. F. and his violent *servente* against Rome, see Miss T. Farnell, *The Lives of the Troubadours*, p. 257 ff.

to the count of Toulouse.¹ Men who did not wish to take their share in fighting the battles of their liege lords were satisfied to think that it was never lawful to fight, and such as were desirous of breaking laws that were in those days punishable with death were charmed to hear that the civil authorities had no right to put any man to death.² Others who were content to reap where they had not sown, and to share their neighbours' goods in common, listened with satisfaction to a sect of the Albigenses, known as the *Communiati*, which declared that "everything ought to be held in common."³ Finally, the very numerous class who objected to any restraint being placed upon their sexual passions welcomed the loathsome conclusions on the subject of matrimony which the Albigenses drew from their principle that all material things were the creation of the god of evil. However the *perfect* may have observed a strict chastity, history and *a priori* deductions agree in affirming that the *believers* (*credentes*), who constituted the rank and file of the sectaries, were to a considerable extent steeped in impurity. How deeply

¹ "Ipsi quoque milites, dominationem contempnentes . . . hereticis adherebant." Will. of P., *ib.* Cf. c. 6. "Qui [Raymond VI.] tenere secure sua non poterat, quem a guerra sui quiescere non sinebant."

² Proof that the Cathari taught these doctrines has for the most part already been adduced. Reinerius Sacco (c. 1254), who had once been a bishop among the Cathari, gives as their teaching (*Adversus Cathar.*, c. 6): "The secular powers sin mortally in punishing malefactors or heretics." Similar anarchical doctrines were held even by the Waldenses. Cf. ep. xiii. 94, and Guiraud, *Quest.*, p. 25 f. (

³ Stephen de Bourbon, *Anecd.*, c. 330. Cf. Luchaire, ii. p. 17. It is not pretended that communism was taught by all the Albigenses. The fact is that, of course, the Albigenses "have different and contrary opinions—*diversas habeant opiniones et contrarias*," as Reinerius observes, *l.c.* Cf. Stephen de B., *l.c.*, 329. No doubt it would be on communistic principles that some of them objected to pay taxes, and so endeavoured to defraud the government, which caused Raymond VII. (1233) to issue decrees against their fraudulent habits. Cf. Labbe, *Concil.*, xi. p. 499, ap. Maitland, pp. 195-6.

they were plunged in it may be judged from a remark of Reinerius Sacco to the effect that "many of them . . . often grieve when they recollect that they did not give full licence to their appetites before they made profession of the heresy of the Cathari."¹

On the other hand, some souls more earnest than wise, only capable of appreciating what they could see with their bodily eyes, disgusted with the profoundly unworthy conduct of many of their clergy, and captivated by the really mortified lives of many, if not most, of the *perfect*, and by such ascetic ideas as abstinence from flesh-meat and from matrimony, threw over their faith in the Church, and embraced the new doctrines with fervour. They were the men on whose self-sacrifice the Albigensian leaders could count.

Matthew Paris² has preserved for us a most interesting letter of Ivo of Narbonne, "formerly the lowest of his clerks," to Gerald de Malemort, archbishop of Bordeaux. From it we can see how the Albigenses secretly propagated their unholy doctrines. Ivo had been unjustly accused of heresy before the Englishman, Cardinal Robert de Courçon, papal legate in France († c. 1218). Hurt at the injustice of the accusation, Ivo would not submit to trial; and, alarmed by the threats of Robert, "that man of authority," fled. In his wanderings he came in contact with some Patarenes at Como, and told them that he was in exile on account of their faith, which, he adds, "I had

Their mode of propagating their tenets in the days of Innocent.

¹ *L.c.*, Maitland's translation. Cf. Izarn, one of the few Troubadours who supported the Church. Speaking of their habits, he says: "They amused themselves with their he or she cousins as they pleased, for they were able to give themselves absolution when they wished, and there was actually no sin which could not be cleared from their conscience by the first deacon they met with." (Quoted by Rowbotham, *The Troubadours*, p. 296.)

² *Chron. maj.*, an. 1243, iv. p. 270 ff. R. S. Giles' trans. has for the most part been here used.

never learned nor followed." Hearing this, they told him that he was to be envied for having suffered for the sake of righteousness, and treated him well. For months he listened "in silence to the many errors, nay horrors, which they uttered against the Apostolic faith." Gained by their kindness, he promised to teach henceforth that no one could be saved by the faith of Peter. When he made this promise "they began to disclose to me their secrets, and told me that from almost all the cities of Lombardy, and some of Tuscany, they had sent apt scholars to Paris, some to study the intricacies of logic, and others theological disquisitions for the purpose of maintaining their own errors. . . . For the same purpose, also, they send many merchants to the markets to pervert rich laymen, their companions at table, and their hosts . . . and so, driving a double traffic, get into their own hands the money of others, and at the same time gather souls into the treasury of Antichrist."¹ Ivo proceeds to tell us that when he left the Patarenes of Como he was able to make his way from one part of Italy to another, and always to receive entertainment from the Patarenes by means of secret signs which had been taught him.² The reader will now understand how it was that, as we shall see later, they were so ready to engage in public discussions with the monks who endeavoured to convert them. Their Parisian training had not been acquired to no purpose.

With weak nature to help them, vicious and sensual doctrines, such as we have shown many of the Albigensian

Innocent's peaceful efforts to check the spread of Albigensianism.

¹ Hence Lucas, Bishop Tuy († 1249), *Chron. Mundi*, ap. Schott, *Hispanie illust.*, iv., Frankfort, 1606, sarcastically asks them: "Have you read in the New Testament that the apostles went from fair to fair to do business and make money?" Cf. also William of Puylaurens, c. 16, who, relying on the authority "of one who was well acquainted with the matter," says, "*Fictis enim verbis negociabantur* [the Perfect] *de credentibus suis.*"

² "Semper in recessu accepi ab aliis ad alios intersigna."

doctrines to be, soon spread, and were hard to uproot; and when Innocent turned his searching eyes on Languedoc, he realised that the efforts which had hitherto been made to purge the province had been in vain. Still, with his faith and energy he did not despair, nor listen to those who urged an immediate armed attack on the heretics, but in the first months of his pontificate he made earnest efforts to effect an improvement, primarily by the force of persuasion. On April 1, 1198, distressed at the way in which "simple souls" were being deceived, and at the attempts which were being made to rend the unity of the Church, Innocent addressed a letter to the archbishop of Auch, exhorting him to work against the heretics in every way he could, "even, if necessary, causing them to be restrained by the power of the material sword of princes and people."¹ This letter was followed by many other similar ones up to the year 1208, when the murder of his legate Peter of Castelnau (January 15) caused him to lose all patience, and to call upon the princes to subdue the heretics by force of arms.

Meanwhile, on April 21, he informed the archbishop of Aix and all the southern bishops and nobles that he was sending as his legates to preach to the Cathari² two most excellent men, Brothers Rainer and Guido or Guy,³ and he bade the archbishop secure, if necessary, the help of the secular power in order to be able to send into exile those who would not hearken to his legates, and to confiscate their goods. To encourage the people to

¹ i. 81 and 82.

² Ep. i. 94 (1198). The Pope names "Valdenses, Catari et Paterini." Cf. i. 165, and ii. 222-3 and 298, July 10, 1199, wherein he informs William, Lord of Montpellier, that he has already complied with his wishes and sent a legate "to destroy heretical depravity."

³ Rainer was already charged with a commission for Spain and Portugal. Cf. i. 92-3, 99, 249, 449. Guido or Guy of Mont'pellier, the founder of the Hospitallers, has already been spoken of,

co-operate with his legates, he offered them the same indulgences as could be gained by a pilgrimage to Rome or Compostela. As the just man, argued the Pope, lives by faith, he who takes away a man's faith takes away his spiritual life.

A little later a more important personage is commissioned by the Pope to proceed to those parts where there were "more disciples of Manes than of Christ." This new envoy was John, cardinal of St. Prisca, who had been sent to France to deal with the divorce of Philip.¹ Then followed two Cistercian monks of Fontfroide, Peter of Castelnau and Raoul (c. the close of 1203), who were ably supported by the new bishop of Toulouse, Fulk, the ex-troubadour.²

Diego
and St.
Dominic
appear on
the scene,
1205.

Despite their hard work, and despite the fact that Innocent had joined to them for their support Arnold Amalric, abbot of Cîteaux (1204),³ these two monks were so disheartened by their want of success that they were on the point of giving up further efforts when they were joined by Diego, bishop of Osma, and his companion, the ever-famous Dominic Guzman, a canon of his church. Diego had just returned from Rome, whither he had gone to beg the Pope's permission to resign his see, in order that he might be free to preach to the infidel. To this request Innocent would not listen, but bade him return to his diocese. It was at Montpellier that Diego met the dispirited legates. At his suggestion a new method of procedure was adopted. The *Perfect*

¹ iii. 24, November 8, 1200.

² Pierre, c. 1; Will. of P., c. 7. Of Fulk it is Will. of Tudela who says, v. 1027, that "he had not his equal in merit." Ep. vi. 242, February 18, 1204, shows Innocent supporting the sentence of deposition of William, bishop of Béziers, decreed by these two legates. Cf. 243.

³ Ep. vii. 75-6, May 1204, and vii. 212. Cf. Will. of T., v. 58 ff., who greatly praises Arnold: "cui Deus amava tant."

among the Albigenses made a great impression on the people by their lowly appearance and abstemious lives. Let us then, said Diego, imitate the apostles in their dress and lives, and thus preach to the people by word and deed.¹ The words and example of Diego inspired the legates with fresh zeal. Discussions were held at various places with the heretical preachers, and we read more than once that the people were convinced, whilst the "lord of the place" remained unmoved.² After one of these public disputations a knight said to Bishop Fulk: "We could not have believed that Rome had such cogent arguments against these men."³ He would not, however, take any active measures against them, because, as he said, he had been brought up among them, and had relations among them, and, moreover, saw that they were living good lives (*eos honeste vivere*). Fortunately, seeing that, in the striking words of Tertullian, "the soul is naturally Christian," there are always many whose lives are better than their principles.

The enthusiasm of Diego and his fellow-workers enkindled further enthusiasm, and in 1207 Abbot Arnold, with the approval of the Pope,⁴ enlisted the services of twelve other Cistercian abbots who joined in the work

¹ P., c. 3; W. of Puy., c. 8. Jordan of Saxony *in vit. S. Dominici*, c. i. n. 16. Blessed Jordan, the second Master General of the Friars Preachers, died in 1237. Cf. R. P. Mortier, *Hist. des Maîtres Généraux de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*, i. p. 137 ff., Paris, 1903.

² Pierre, c. 3, p. 13; c. 6, p. 20 f.; Will. of P., cc. 8-9.

³ Will. of P., c. 8. "Nullatenus possemus credere quod Roma haberet tot heficaces [sic] adversus istos homines rationes."

⁴ Ep. ix. 185, November 17, 1206. Innocent, after noting that certain religious were anxious to preach, and yet did not dare to do so "sine mittente, auctoritate propria," authorised his legate Raoul to send suitable men to preach to the heretics "qui paupertatem Christi . . . imitando in respectu habitu . . . non pertimescant accedere ad despectos . . . (et), per exemplum operis et documentum sermonis, sic revocent ab errore."

of preaching to the heretics with the greatest zeal and devotion.¹ But with all their earnestness the preachers effected but little, and that little was first checked by the death of Bishop Diego and of the legate Raoul (1207),² and then, for the moment at least, reduced almost to nothing by the murder of Raoul's fellow-legate, Peter of Castelnau (1208).

The
murder of
Peter of
Castelnau,
1208.

The chief stay of the Albigenses was, as we have said, the weak and sensual count of Toulouse. Innocent had frequently exhorted him to expel the heretics, and had even threatened to turn against him the might of Philip of France.³ But Raymond not only paid no heed to the wishes of the Pope regarding the heretics, but, by the aid of mercenaries, continued to oppress the Church, and to wage war with his nobles. Accordingly, the legate Peter, knowing that the gospel of peace could not well be propagated in the midst of war, went into Provence, and made a great effort to bring about peace among its warring nobles (1207). But Raymond proved a serious obstacle in the way, and only withdrew his opposition to the signing of the peace when the nobles turned against him, and he had been excommunicated by the legate. But Raymond recked little of periury, and soon broke his oath.⁴

His disgraceful conduct brought down upon him the severest letter ever penned by Innocent, who, however, declared that he had very little hope of correcting a

¹ Pierre, c. 5; *Ann. Pegavenses*, an. 1207, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 268; Will. of Nangis, *Chron.*, an. 1207; Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. hist.*, xxix. 93.

² P., c. 6.

³ Potthast, nn. 1549-50, c. end of 1201. See also ep. vii. 212.

⁴ Pierre, c. 3. The only motive given by Will. of Tud. for his excommunication is his maintenance of mercenaries:

“Lo comte de Tolosa anet escumenjant
Car mante los roters quel pays van raubant,” v. 81-2,

“pestilent man who will not- keep peace with his neighbours, but . . . attaches himself to the enemies of the Catholic faith.”¹ Threatening him with temporal and eternal punishment from God for his crimes, he asked him with indignation: “Who are you that, when the king of Aragon and nearly all the nobles of the adjacent districts have, at the exhortation of the legate of the Apostolic See, sworn to keep the peace, you alone should reject it, and, hoping to profit by a state of war, like a carrion crow batten on carcasses? Are you not ashamed of so often breaking the oaths you have sworn to prosecute the heretics in your dominions? Lately, when you were devastating the province of Arles with your mercenaries (*Aragonensibus*), and you were asked by our venerable brother the bishop of Crange to spare the monasteries, and to refrain from ravaging the country at least on Sundays and holy days, you seized his right hand and swore by it that neither on Sundays nor on Holy Days would you keep from injuring holy persons or places. And this accursed oath you have observed more religiously than those you have taken for a good object. Impious, cruel, and wicked tyrant, are you not ashamed . . . to say that you could produce an heresiarch, an heretical bishop, who could prove that their faith is better than that of the Catholics? . . . We know you have committed many other crimes against God. . . . You are strongly suspected of heresy. We ask you, therefore, what is this madness which has seized you, that you listen to these trifles, and encourage the heretics? Are you wiser than all those who are in the unity of the Catholic faith? Are all those who profess Catholic truth damned, and those saved who hold these vain and false doctrines? . . . Because you are an enemy of the Gospel; because you keep mercenaries and with them

¹ x. 69, May 29, 1207.

devastate the country ; because with them you have violated the season of Lent, and those days which ought to enjoy the benefit of peace ;¹ because you have denied justice to your adversaries who sought it ; because in contempt of the Christian faith you have entrusted public offices to Jews ; because you have stripped the monastery of St. William and other churches of their property ; because you have turned churches into castles whence you do not hesitate to wage war ; because you have lately increased the tolls (*pedagia*) ; and because you have expelled our venerable brother the bishop of Carpentras from his see, we ratify the sentence pronounced by our legate of excommunication and interdict against you and your country." Innocent then urged him to prompt repentance, and warned him that, if he delayed, he would take away from him those territories which he held in fief from the Roman Church ;² and, if that were not enough, he would urge the neighbouring princes to rise up against him, and authorise them to keep such of his territories as they could seize.³

Moved at last, or pretending at any rate to be moved, Raymond invited the legate Peter to come to St. Giles and there to treat about his reconciliation. But the legate could not come to any understanding with the count. First he would agree to the conditions proposed and then he would not ; and when Peter asked for permission to depart, he publicly threatened him with death.⁴

Whether Raymond ordered his death or not, it is certain that his words had the same result as the similar ones of Henry II. regarding St. Thomas Becket. One

¹ *I.e.*, because you have violated "the Truce of God."

² *E.g.*, the county of Melgueil. *Cf.* ep. xi. 232.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Ep. xi. 26, about the beginning of March, 1208. "Mortem est publice comminatus."

of his retainers transfixing Peter with a lance on the day after they had been uttered.¹

This murder of an ambassador, of one to whom all his contemporaries give a most excellent character for moderation and discretion, was the last act of violence which the Cathari were to commit with impunity. Hitherto, without serious consequences to themselves, they had not merely reviled the Catholics, both priests and laymen,² but whenever they had been able they had maltreated them,³ and had erected castles whence they could attack them and be in safety themselves.⁴ But the murder of Peter was to have very different

A Crusade
proclaimed
against the
Albigenses,
1208.

¹ *Ib.* Cf. Will. of P., c. 9. "Cujus rei [the murder of Peter] suspicione comes non caruit Tholosanus"; Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. hist.*, xxix. c. 101; and Will. of T., v. 83 ff., who adds that the man who did the deed had a great hatred of Peter, and wished to curry favour with Raymond: his zeal had made the legate specially hated by the heretics. Cf. Pierre, c. 3; William de Nangis, an. 1208, and Philip of France in a letter to Innocent. He says that Peter was slain "assensu comitis Sancti Egidii." Ap. Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de P.*, p. 512.

² Abbot Arnold they had denounced as a fool: "Eli plus lescarnian el tenian per sot." Will. of T., v. 69.

³ Cf. Reiner, *Annales*, an. 1210, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. p. 663; *Annal. Lambacenses*, ap. *ib.*, p. 557, speak of the increase of the "nefandissima fex catariæ," and say that when it was strong enough to show itself: "omnesque quibus prevaluisset persequeretur, occideret, vjamque peregrinantium insidiis occuparet." Speaking of these heretics in Spain, the anonymous Cistercian monk tells us in his *Chronicle*, an. 1212, p. 35, ed. Gaudenzi, how they attacked the Catholics, and "si quos sacerdotes inveniebant celebrare sacra misteria eos mutilabant, cecabant et occidebant." See also Pierre, c. 15, and Reinerius Sacco, who tells of a heretic when being led to execution saying: "You are right in condemning us; because if we were not kept under, the same power which you exercise against us we should use against you." *Summa de Catharis*, c. 3. See also Stephen de Bourbon, c. 109, and p. 231, n. 3, ed. de la Marche. Cf. Luchaire, *Les Albigeois*, p. 24 ff.

⁴ In addition to the authorities already quoted on this subject of the fortified places of the Albigenses, cf. Rob. of Auxerre, *Chron.*, an. 1181, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 245: "Castra habent quam plurima adversus catholicos communita."

results. The Catholics were now thoroughly roused; and the French bishops both in person and by letter insisted that the Pope should take action.¹

Unable to resist their request, and feeling that the time had come when violence must be met by violence,² Innocent set himself to rouse France and the neighbouring countries to proceed to battle against the Albigensians. Hitherto, when he had appealed to the secular power, it was simply with the design that it should render efficacious sentences of exile and confiscation of goods which had been passed upon individuals.³ Now, however, setting forth in detail the shifty conduct of the count of Toulouse; excommunicating him⁴ and all con-

¹ Rob. of Auxerre, an. 1208, ap. *l.c.*, p. 272, maintains that the Crusade proclaimed by Innocent was due to Odo, bishop of Paris: "suggerente et satagente." Cf. Pierre, c. 9.

² Cæsar of Heisterbach, *Dialogus*, v. 21, declared his belief that unless the heresy had been suppressed by the sword "puto quod totam Europam corrupisset"

³ He had, however, on November 17, 1207, called upon the king and the great nobles of France to take up arms against those "qui æstantes fervore lasciviæ, voluptatibus carnis inserviunt [an allusion to the lax life of the *credentes*], et qui, ut religiosi ab hominibus habeantur, a quibusdam vitiis abstinendo macerant carnem suam [*the Perfecti*]." Ep. x. 149. Innocent gives very few details of the teachings of the different heretics of his age. He generally compares them to foxes which look unlike but are all tied together by the tails. He regarded heresy as treason against God; and if treason against man has to be punished, still more treason against God. Cf. ep. ii. 1. To the request just alluded to, made by the Pope, Philip replied that the warlike doings of King John prevented him from fighting in the south of France; but, if Innocent could effect a truce, he would give most substantial assistance. See Delisle, *Catalogue des actes*, p. 512.

⁴ Innocent regarded Raymond as having at least connived at Peter's murder, seeing that he had threatened to kill him, and then had (so the Pope was informed—*sicut asseritur*) rewarded the murderer. Ep. xi. 26. Raymond himself practically acknowledged that he had received the murderer into his intimate friendship. See his oath c. 2, ap. the *Processus negotii Raymundi* in the Register of Innocent after ep. xii. 85. Cf. ep. xii. 106. Even if as late as c. June 1212 Innocent allowed that Raymond had not up to that date ("nondum

cerned in the murder of Peter of Castelnau; and declaring that "these pestilent men now wish not merely to take our goods but our lives," he called upon king, bishop, and baron to rise up and expel the count and his heretical followers from his dominions, and to replace them by Catholics (March 1208).¹ He also commissioned certain abbots and bishops to endeavour to persuade the kings of France and England to make peace for at least two years,² and he offered the same indulgences to those who should take up arms against the Albigenses as to those who fought against the infidel. The bishops of Conserans (or St. Lizier) and Riez, and the abbot Arnold were to be the leaders of the expedition; the usual privileges of Crusaders were to be granted to those who took part in it; and,³ "because it is reasonable that those who do a public work should be supported at the public expense," he urged that both the clergy and laity of those nobles who took the Cross should pay them a tenth for a year.⁴ Cardinal Gualo too was sent to the French king to promote not only the interests of the Holy Land and of the divorced Queen Ingeborg, but also those of the war against the Albigenses.⁵ Especially was Innocent anxious that the king of France himself should undertake the military management of the expedition, in order that it might be conducted properly in every way. But when Philip,⁶ desirous enough for the war but ever anxious to have his schemes of aggrandisement advanced by others,

est damnatus . . . de nece . . . Petri") been convicted of the murder of Peter, he continued to assert that suspicion was strong against him. Cf. ep. xv. 102.

¹ xi. 26 and 27-33. Cf. Rigord, n. 154.

² xi. 30-1. Cf. Pierre, c. 10.

³ Epp. xi. 156-9, October 1208.

⁴ xi. 158.

⁵ William of Nangis, *Chron.*, an. 1208; Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. hist.*, xxix., c. 101; and Epp. xi. 85-6, May 1208.

⁶ Will. the Breton, *Philippid.*, viii., v. 500 ff.

again pleaded the unsatisfactory nature of his relations with England in excuse for not complying with the Pope's wishes,¹ Innocent begged him at any rate to appoint a suitable leader for the Crusading host, in order that he might have the royal authority behind him, and that all might march in unity under the king's standard.² Philip, however, under the circumstances, was of opinion that he was doing sufficient if he allowed his barons to march in order "to disturb the disturbers of the peace and of the faith in the province of Narbonne," as Pierre des Vaux de Cernai expresses it.³

Raymond
in alarm
promises
submission.

The words of the Pope and of those who preached the "Crusade" soon began to tell, and everywhere in France and on its borders, men, in sign of their intention to do battle against the Cathari, began to fasten the cross on their breasts.⁴ This they did in accordance with the directions of the papal legates, to distinguish themselves from the Crusaders proper, who wore it on their shoulders.⁵

The count of Toulouse was now thoroughly alarmed; for, as he knew, both Pope and king had agreed that any one who seized his territories might keep them,⁶ and the king was moreover fitting out thousands of men at his

¹ He declared that the count of Toulouse was a most unsatisfactory vassal to him, and that, when he had secured a truce with England, he would act against him with his men and his money. Still, he reminded Innocent of an interesting piece of what may be called the international law of the period. He told the Pope that it was illegal for him to hand over the count's territories to any one who could seize them "until he had been condemned for heresy," and, when that had been done, it was for the king of France to deal with his territory, as he was his feudal superior. Ep. ap. Delisle, *Actes*, p. 512 f.

² xi. 229, February 3, 1209.

³ C. 10.

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 13.

⁵ Ep. xi. 156, October 11, 1208.

⁶ Will. the Breton, *ib.*, v. 515 ff.:

"Rex et Papa simul exponunt omnibus illum,
Et res et patriam totam que spectat ad illum," etc.

own expense to take part in the war against him.¹ Having failed to obtain help from the Emperor Otho,² Raymond turned to Rome, and through his envoys promised submission if the Pope would send a new legate *a latere*.³ Innocent accordingly despatched to the south of France the notary Milo, "who could neither be frightened nor bribed," and Thedisius, a canon of Genoa.⁴

Raymond met the new legate at Valence, and as usual was profuse in his promises, declaring that he would obey Milo's will in all things. But he found that Milo was not to be so easily imposed upon as he had hoped. The legate insisted that, as a guarantee of his good faith, he should hand over to his keeping seven of his castles in Provence;⁵ should authorise the consuls of Avignon, Nîmes, and St. Giles to swear that, should he be false to his promises, they would no longer do him homage; and that the county of Melgueil should again lapse to the Pope.⁶

The conditions were not to the count's liking; but thousands of Crusaders had assembled on the north-east and north-west of his dominions, and were almost ready

¹ *Ib.* "Rex igitur primus zeli fervore superni
Corde pio motus, ter millia quinque virorum
Ad proprios sumptus instructos rebus et armis,
Dans exemplum aliis, in Christi prelia misit": v. 520 ff.

² Will. of Puy., c. 13.

³ Pierre, c. 9. He maintained that the abbot Arnold was prejudiced against him. We may note that the data of the *Historia Alb.* in connection with these events are unreliable. Cf. *Chanson*, c. 10.

⁴ P., cc. 9 and 10.

⁵ One of the seven was the place where Clement V. died in 1314—the strong castle of Roquemaure, the ruins of which still tower above the Rhône.

⁶ *Ib.*, c. 12; *Chanson*, *ib.* Copies of the oaths taken by the consuls of these places are extant (c. 5) in the *Processus negotii Raymundi consulis Tolosani*, a small *dossier* which Milo sent to Rome to be inserted if his Holiness saw fit in the *Register*. It now follows epp. xii. 85 and 106. Cf. Milo's letter to the Pope, ep. xii. 106.

to march into them. He accordingly gave way, yielded up the custody of the castles,¹ took the required oaths to disband his mercenaries, to remove the illegal tolls, and to help the Crusaders against the heretics,² and, in the garb of a penitent,³ was solemnly reconciled to the Church by Milo at St. Giles. He then, to save his fiefs from devastation, received the Cross from the legate (June 18, 1209),⁴ and, a month or two later, congratulations from Innocent for having complied with Milo's conditions.⁵

The
Crusaders
march into
Languedoc,
June
24, 1209.

Some of the other barons of Languedoc followed their count's example; but most of their more powerful competitors, such as Raymond Roger,⁶ viscount of Béziers, Carcassonne, etc., if they at first showed no sign of overt opposition, made no pretence at submission.

We have now between the Garonne and the Rhône two armies of Crusaders, one at Agen, and the more powerful one at Lyons, commanded by the duke of Burgundy, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and other powerful lords from castles north of the Lot. To the south of the two centres just mentioned we have a number of strong and wealthy cities whose feudal lords or local consuls and inhabitants were either Albigensians

¹ See the oath taken by the custodians of the castles in the *dossier* or portfolio just mentioned—c. 8, after ep. xii. 85.

² Cf. cc. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 of the *dossier*. The form of oath taken by the count shows that he agreed to make satisfaction with regard to all the points urged against him by Innocent. Cf. the supporting oath of the consuls of St. Giles, and those of the other barons, after ep. xii. 106.

³ He is *technically* said to have been "naked" (*nudus*), just as Henry IV. at Canossa is said to have stood "naked" in the courtyard of the castle. Cf. *supra*, vii. p. 119. "Adductus est Comes nudus ante fores ecclesiæ beati Egidii," etc. Pierre, c. 12.

⁴ P., c. 13. Cf. c. 9 of the *dossier*. On the same date a number of other barons of Languedoc took similar oaths to that taken by Raymond. See cc. 10-13 of the portfolio.

⁵ Ep. xii. 90, July 27. "Totum te nostris exposuistis mandatis, exhibens cautiones quantas et quales . . . Milo . . . exegit."

⁶ He was the nephew of Raymond VI., count of Toulouse.

or in sympathy with them. These cities were well fortified, and were crowded with mercenaries in the pay of the nobles. Then there were a number of the lesser nobility, who neither feared God nor regarded man, whose hands were against every man's, and who, from their strong castles¹ or, like William Porcelleti, from a fort constructed out of two churches and a cemetery, plundered the traveller, and, at times, found it convenient to sympathise with the Albigenses.² Finally, there were the Albigenses themselves, who, especially since their *council* of St. Felix de Camaran in 1167 under their *pope* Nicetas (Niquinta),³ had become a thoroughly organised body, and possessed such fortified places of refuge as Mont-Segur, which had been built for them with the consent of the count of Foix.⁴

This powerful fortress, in which the Albigenses were destined to make their last stand (1244), had been made over to them by one of their partisans, the knight Raymond of Perelle. He had done this in consequence of a resolution come to by a great assembly of the heretics at

¹ In two months from June 24, 1209, the Crusaders had taken more than two hundred of these castles. *Cf.* ep. xii. 108.

² It is the legate Milo who tells the Pope "quod vir nobilis Willelmus Porcelleti munitionem quamdam fortissimam super duabus ecclesiis et in cœmeteria ipsarum constructam in insula quadam juxta ripam Rhodani non longe ab ea civitate (Arles) in perniciem transeuntium possidebat." Ep. xii. 106. *Cf.* also c. 4 of the *dossier*, after ep. xii. 106. The oaths of the barons and consuls, as set forth in this *dossier*, show that the work of the Pope and his envoys in the south of France was to a very large extent indeed in the interests of public order. The men who took the oaths swore not arbitrarily to increase the tolls (*pedagia seu guidagia*), nor to impose unwarrantable taxes; to keep the highways safe; to preserve the peace; to destroy or to restore to the bishops the churches which had been turned into fortresses, and not to fortify any more; to allow freedom in ecclesiastical elections, and not to plunder the houses of ecclesiastics on their death, etc.

³ *Cf.* Twigge, p. 318 f. *Cf. supra*, p. 40.

⁴ *Cf. Chanson*, c. 145, v. 3260 ff.

Mirepoix in 1206. Fearing lest the Church should one day take active measures against them, they decided to ask their supporters among the nobility for a "city of refuge." Raymond accordingly reconstructed his castle of Mont-Segur, and in the very year of the assassination of Peter of Castelnau, "the perfect" were preaching in it in absolute security.¹

The
capture of
Béziers
and Car-
cassonne,
1209.

Accompanied by the count of Toulouse, the Crusaders marched against Béziers, which Pierre assures us was full of heretics who were, moreover, robbers and men stained with every crime.² Abandoned by its count, Raymond Roger, who fled to Carcassonne, the town unfortunately fell in the first place into the power of the *ribalds* or camp-followers (*ribaldi—servientes exercitus*), who were responsible for the wholesale slaughter of the inhabitants which followed, and for the subsequent firing of the city³ (July 22, 1209).

The fearful massacre in Béziers⁴ terrified the whole neighbourhood, scores of castles surrendered at once,

¹ Schmidt, *Hist. des Alb.*, i. 214-5, quoting from *Archives de l'Inquisition de Carcassonne*, Doat, xxiv. ff. 217, 240, and xxii. ff. 168, 216.

² C. 15.

³ This is expressly stated by Pierre, c. 15, and by the *Chanson*, c. 19 ff., pp. 37-37. These "ribalds" were not camp-followers in the ordinary sense of the term. They were an organised body under a leader. Hence the *Chanson* speaks of their king: "Le reis e li arlot," v. 507. Cf. Will. of P., c. 13. The oft-told story that, during this massacre, the abbot Arnold encouraged those who were afraid of killing Catholics along with the heretics with the words: "Kill all; God will know his own," rests only on old gossiping Cæsar of Heisterbach (*Dial.*, v. 21), and even he only gives it as a report: "fertur dixisse." Cf. ep. xii. 108. It is a letter of the legate Milo to the Pope, written about the end of August.

⁴ It must be borne in mind that the usual medieval weakness in the matter of numbers is very apparent in the accounts of this war against the Albigenses. Thus there is no doubt that, despite the *official* statement in ep. xii. 108, nothing like twenty-four thousand people were massacred in Béziers. Cf. Larroque in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, vol. i. (1866).

and before the end of August the almost impregnable height of Carcassonne, along with its lord, was in the hands of the Crusaders.

After the capture of this important stronghold it became necessary to elect a permanent chief for the army, as some of the leaders who had only taken the Cross for a brief space (the usual forty days of feudal service) were desirous of returning home. Several nobles refused the proffered command. They were perhaps wise enough to foresee the difficulties which would arise in attempting to hold a hostile country with the uncertain support of a volunteer army of ever-varying strength, but they said that they had lands enough of their own, and did not want any more.¹ At length, however, "overcome by the importunities of the prelates and barons, Simon de Montfort accepted that which, following the example of the others, he had at first refused, saying that the cause of God should not suffer from want of a champion."²

Simon de
Montfort
elected
chief of the
army, 1209.

But de Montfort had no sooner accepted the command than his troubles began. Though there were a number of strong fortresses to subdue even in the immediate neighbourhood of Carcassonne, many of the nobles, despite their engagements to the contrary, began to return home. According to William of Tudela,³ it was to Paris they were anxious to go. "The mountains were savage, the defiles dangerous, and they wished not to be killed."⁴ But de Montfort was not a man to be

¹ Cf. Pierre, c. 17; Will. of P., c. 14. *Chanson*, v. 793, "Dizon que pro an terra si cadaus tanvit."

² Will. of P., *ib.* Pierre, c. 18, has as much to say in praise of Simon as in condemnation of Raymond VI. of Toulouse.

³ C. 36, v. 822 ff. Cf. Pierre, c. 20 f.

⁴ *L.c.* "Tuit li plusor sen volo retornar vas Paris.
Las montanhas so feras els passatges esquis
E no volon pas estre ins el pais aucis."

easily frightened. He wrote, indeed, to the Pope for help, but at once took the field with his sadly diminished force. Calling himself "Simon, earl of Leicester, lord of Montfort, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne," he told Innocent of his election as ruler of the conquered country, of the desertion of his fellow-nobles, and of his difficulties from the fact that "the heretics had in their flight left many of their fortresses desolate, but were still holding the stronger ones," and that he had to pay his men twice as much as in previous wars in order to induce them to stay with him. He then passed on to inform the Pope that he had arranged that each household in the conquered country should pay the Holy See three denarii a year, and to beg him to confirm him and his heirs in his new possessions.¹

In the meantime, whilst waiting for the favourable answer which he was to receive in November,² the earl carried on the war with vigour and, imitating his foes, with no little cruelty.³

Raymond VI. is condemned at a council at Avignon, Sept. 1209.

The successes of the Crusaders were being watched by no one with greater anxiety than by Raymond of Toulouse. He had been with them up to the time of the capture of Carcassonne. After that he left them; but he seemingly showed no signs of fulfilling the promises

¹ Ep. xii. 109, c. the end of August 1209.

² Cf. epp. xii. 122-137, November 1209, to Simon himself, or to the emperor Otho and others urging them to help the earl. In the last letter (136) the Pope exhorts the clergy to furnish him with money, "cum prædictæ terræ desertæ sint et vastatæ."

³ After describing one of Simon's acts of cruelty, Pierre says that he did not take delight in mutilating men, but he followed where his foes had led the way: "Sed quia adversarii sui hoc inceperant, et quoscunque de nostris invenire poterant membrorum detractione carnifices crudelissimi trucidabant." C. 34. Cf. cc. 27 and 30. Cf. Stephen de Bourbon, *Anecd.*, c. 109, ed. De la Marche. Vincent of Beauvais says that, on the retirement of the princes, the Albigenses "multa mala nostris irrogant," killing monks, etc. *Spec. hist.*, xxix. c. 102.

he had made about driving the heretics out of his own dominions, or about giving up certain of his despotic practices.

Accordingly, to put pressure on him, the papal legates called a council at Avignon in September 1209; and, on the ground that he had fulfilled hardly a single one of his promises, declared that sentence of excommunication and interdict would fall upon him on the 1st of November, if he had not in the meantime carried out his engagements.¹ Against this judgment Raymond at once appealed to the Pope. Failing to obtain any support from Philip of France, not even the authorisation of his new tolls, he went to Rome.²

The count would appear to have made a good impression in Rome. He produced documents to show that he had made restitution to certain churches, and promised to complete his obligations in this connection, and he expressed great anxiety to be permitted to clear himself from the charge of heresy, as he was anxious not to forfeit the castles he had given in pledge.³ Further, with a view to excusing himself for not having expelled the heretics from his dominions, and for not having abolished his new taxes, he pretended not to know who were to be regarded as "manifest heretics," and what

Raymond
in Rome.
1209-10.

¹ Cf. the letter of the bishop of Riez and of Milo to Innocent, ep. xii. 107, written September-October 1209. Cf. Pierre, c. 33. The legates expressed a hope to the Pope that, if Raymond comes to him, he will "find in the successor of Peter the firmness of the rock which is Christ." See also the *Chanson*, c. 39, v. 886 ff., and c. 42.

² Pierre, *l.c.*; *Chanson*, c. 42. The citizens of Toulouse also appealed to the Pope against the action of the legates, maintaining that those whom the legates had accused of heresy were orthodox: "Nos et accusatos vivos sub protectione d. papæ posuimus et sedem apostolicam appellavimus." See a letter of the citizens ap. Vaissete, *Hist. de Lang.*, iii., Pr., n. 105, p. 232, enclosing a letter of Innocent of January 19, 1210, to which he alludes in xii. 156.

³ Ep. xii. 152, January 25, 1210.

were to be regarded as new taxes.¹ By this show of submission Raymond won honour from the Pope.² But though Innocent declared that he had no wish to enrich the Church at any man's expense, he would not agree to the count's exculpating himself in his presence from the charges of heresy and of complicity in the murder of Peter of Castelnau. That must be done in the count's own country, "in order that, where the charges against him had sprung into life, there they might be killed."³ He accordingly instructed his legates in Languedoc to call a council within three months, and admit the count "to purgation," if he had meanwhile fulfilled his promises.⁴

Raymond
returns to
France,
1210.

Not too well satisfied with the result of his visit to Rome, Raymond on his return journey made a vain effort to enlist in his favour against de Montfort the support of the emperor Otho and of the king of France. He failed, however, with them even more signally than with the Pope,⁵ and merely gained the declared enmity of the earl.⁶

In accordance with Innocent's mandate, his legates, within the prescribed three months, summoned Raymond to appear before a council which they convened at St. Giles. But, as he had failed meanwhile to fulfil the

¹ Ep. xii. 154. In this letter Innocent explained that "manifest heretics" were those "qui publice prædicant . . . errorem," and that "new taxes" were such as had not been approved by emperors or kings or ancient custom before the Lateran Council.

² "R. comitem . . . satisfactione promissa veniam humiliter postulante curavimus honorare." Ep. xii. 156. The *Chanson*, c. 43, v. 986 ff., tells of the gifts the Pope gave him.

³ "Ut ubi orta est ejus infamia moriatur." xii. 152.

⁴ *Ib.* Cf. Pierre, c. 33. Cf. epp. xii. 168 ff.

⁵ Pierre, c. 34; *Chanson*, c. 44.

⁶ Pierre, *ib.* "Adhuc enim non erant hostes ad invicem manifesti." About this time the Albigenses tried to get Peter, king of Aragon, to help them, but they could not come to terms with each other. *Ib.*, c. 36.

Pope's injunctions,¹ the assembled Fathers would not admit him to purgation. They once more, however, urged him to carry out his promises with reference to the tolls and the expulsion of the heretics,² as did Innocent himself not long after.³

But efforts to bring about an understanding with Raymond were not stopped. Assemblies were held at Narbonne (January)⁴ and at Montpellier (February).⁵ At the last-named gathering, as the count had not shown signs of any intention to comply with what was required of him, he was formally excommunicated, and the sentence was duly confirmed by the Pope.⁶

The sentence of the Pope soon produced results. Whilst it was under consideration the Crusaders were

The count of Toulouse excommunicated, 1211

Open war between de Montfort and Raymond, 1211.

¹ The *Præclara Francorum Facinora*, often spoken of as the *Chronicle of Simon de Montfort* (1202-1311), and perhaps the work of Bernard Guidonis (†1331), assigns to the year 1211 the cruel treatment by Raymond of his cousin Manfred of Belvèsé, who, "fearing the censures of the Pope," went over to Simon, after having in vain tried to induce Raymond to abandon the cause of the heretics.

² Pierre, c. 39; *Chanson*, c. 58. Cf. a letter of the Pope's legate, ep. xvi. 39, c. January 1213.

³ xiii. 188, December 17, 1210. Meanwhile, ep. xiii. 86 and 87 of June 28 and 27, 1210, Innocent continued to encourage and support the efforts of de Montfort.

⁴ January 1211. Cf. *Chanson*, c. 59, which says that nothing of any moment was settled at Narbonne. It was at this place and time that Peter of Aragon accepted the homage of Simon for Carcassonne, of which he claimed the suzerainty; Pierre, c. 47. He would not accept it before; *ib.*, c. 26. Innocent says that the king acted in accordance with his wishes; xv. 214.

⁵ *Chanson*, cc. 59-61, about "Arles," *i.e.*, Montpellier, and Pierre about Montpellier, c. 47. Cf. Hefele, *Conciles*, viii. 85 f. Epp. xvi. 42 and 46 show that the two councils were at Narbonne and Montpellier, and not at Arles.

⁶ Ep. xiv. 36, c. April 1211, addressed to the archbishop of Arles and his suffragans. The Pope accuses Raymond "contra promissa et juramenta sua veniens impudenter." Cf. xiv. 163, August 25, 1211; xvi. 39; and, in xvi. 42, see the letter of the prelates of the council of Lavaur to Peter, king of Aragon (January 18, 1213).

besieging the important town of Lavaur, "the headquarters of the heretics,"¹ and Raymond was giving further proof of his complete understanding with them. One of his officials secretly sent men for the defence of Lavaur, and he himself permitted only a small quantity of provisions to be conveyed from Toulouse to the Crusaders and absolutely prohibited the taking of a siege train to them.² Lavaur, however, was taken (May 3),³ and, it may be added, in order to show the savage way in which the war was now being conducted, Pierre assures us that "our pilgrims with immense pleasure burnt a very great number of the heretics."⁴

After the capture of Lavaur, so at least we are told by the same writer,⁵ "*the men of the count of Toulouse (homines Comitum Tolosani)*", reflecting that he had abandoned our count (de Montfort) in anger; had prohibited siege-engines and provisions from being conveyed to the army from Toulouse; and had, moreover, been excommunicated and deposed (*expositus*),⁶ urged that he should now be openly attacked as he had now been plainly condemned."⁷ De Montfort readily fell in with the suggestion, and began open war upon Raymond by destroying the stronghold of Montjoyre, which directly depended upon him. Simon commenced with Montjoyre because it was in its neighbourhood that the count of

¹ "In quo [Lavaur] erat fons et origo totius hæreseos." Pierre, c. 50.

² *Ib.* Cf. *Chanson*, c. 57 f., the narrative of which appears here to be very inaccurate.

³ "So fo la santa Crotz de mai ques en estat [the feast of the Invention of the Cross],

Que fo Lavaurs destruita si eo vos ai comtat."

Chanson, c. 58.

⁴ C. 52.

⁵ C. 53.

⁶ Inasmuch as the territories of the heretics had been declared to belong to those who could seize them. Cf. ep. xv. 102. "Et *exposita* terra ejus (Raymond's)."

⁷ P., *ib.*

Foix and his followers had killed, with circumstances of great barbarity, a number of German Crusaders.¹ He even made a futile attack on Toulouse itself.

War was now bitterly waged between the two counts, and Raymond threw himself more and more deeply into the Albigensian cause. So far from expelling the heretics from his dominions, he opened wide the gates of his city of Toulouse to all those who had fled from Béziers, Carcassonne, and the other cities assailed by de Montfort.² He increased rather than diminished the taxes complained of; employed the "free companies" as much as ever; and closely allied himself with such leaders of the Albigenses as the counts of Béarn, Foix, and Comminges.³ Further, he sought help from every quarter, from the emperor Otho because he was at enmity with the Church, from John of England for the same reason, from Peter, king of Aragon, and even from that king of Morocco whose signal defeat at Las Navas we have already chronicled.⁴

¹ *Ib.* Cf. c. 50, and *Chanson*, c. 69; Will. of Puy., c. 17.

² Ep. xvi. 48. Cf. Pierre, c. 64. The heretics expelled the monks from Toulouse, and turned their cloisters into "pecorum ovilia et stabula equorum."

³ See the report (*consilium*) presented by Arnold, now archbishop of Narbonne, and the Fathers of the council of Lavaur (January 1213) to the bishop of Riez and Master Thedisius, canon of Genoa, the special legates in connection with the affair of Raymond. "Postquam ab apostolica sede rediit, . . . adauxit pedagia, impugnavit Ecclesiam, et pacem cum rotariis et hæreticos . . . impugnat," etc. Part of ep. xvi. 39. See also the letter of the same Fathers to Innocent, ep. xvi. 41.

⁴ Ep. xvi. 41, which is part of another small *dossier* or portfolio on the Albigensian question. In the September of 1212 we find Innocent commending to de Montfort and to the bishops of southern France Peter Mark, "our subdeacon, the corrector of our letters," whom he had sent thither to collect the taxes due to the Roman See, and, when collected "according to the standard of Troyes (*ad pondus Trecentense*)," carefully to transmit them to be deposited "in our name" with Brother Aymer, the treasurer of the Templars at Paris. This is an interesting letter for the history of banking. Cf. epp. xv. 167-176.

The action
of Peter,
king of
Aragon,
and the
council of
Lavaur
(1213).

But the only one who appeared able or willing to do anything of any importance for the count of Toulouse was Peter, king of Aragon. He had already certain rights of suzerainty over Montpellier, Carcassonne, and other places on this side of the Pyrenees, and he was desirous of extending those rights. Accordingly, after Raymond had acknowledged him as his suzerain,¹ the king sent ambassadors to the Pope to plead his cause (in the winter of 1212-1213).²

Meantime, in accordance with Innocent's wishes, Thedisius held a council at Avignon, no doubt in the summer of 1212, because we are told that Avignon then, as so often in its history, proved its right to the sobriquet of "poisonous" (*venenosa*).³ In consequence "of the general corruption of the air there," the council had to break up; but it reassembled in the middle of January (1213) at Lavaur.⁴ To the Fathers of this assembly Peter of Aragon presented a requisition in favour of the count of Toulouse. He sent in copies of the oaths to which Raymond and his friends, the count of Foix and the others, had affixed their signatures, and which set forth that they had placed themselves under the overlordship of the king of Aragon, and were ready to obey the behests of the Pope.⁵ But the Fathers had had enough of the promises of Raymond. His deeds ever belied them. They accordingly declared that his conduct

¹ Cf. ep. xvi. 47, January 5, 1213.

² Pierre, c. 70. Cf. ep. xv. 212, 213, January 17, 18, 1213. To Rome also had gone Master Thedisius in the early part of the year. Ep. xvi. 39.

³ It is said to be either "ventosa" (windy) or "venenosa."

⁴ Thedisius and many of the prelates fell very dangerously ill. Ep. xvi. 39: "quia generalis corruptio æris ibi erat."

⁵ Ep. xvi. 47. Raymond swore: "Promittentes vobis bona fide quod tam ea quæ d. Papa vel vos pro eo nobis mandaveritis pro posse nostro faciemus." Cf. Pierre, c. 66.

had been such that they could not absolve him or restore his lands to him without a special mandate from the Pope.¹

Meanwhile, the envoys of the king of Aragon had met with some success in Rome. They had assured Innocent that the Crusaders had seized lands belonging to Catholics as well as to the Albigenses, and that Count Raymond was prepared to do penance, and to proceed against the Moslems either in the Holy Land or in Spain.

The envoys
of Aragon
in Rome.

Their words impressed the Pope, and he wrote to his legate to lay aside all prejudice and to hold a great assembly of bishops and barons, and thereat to examine the king's proposals very carefully. At the same time he informed Simon de Montfort of what had been alleged, and bade him restore the lands he had taken from the Catholic vassals of the king of Aragon (January 17, 1213).²

The letters
of the Pope
and of his
legates in
Languedoc
cross,
Jan.-Feb.,
1213.

At the very time that Innocent despatched these letters the important council of Lavaur was being held; and the letters which his envoys and the Fathers of that assembly sent to him concerning its doings and those of the Pope to his legates *crossed*. After telling Innocent that they only wished he could see the striking improvement which his measures had caused in the peace and prosperity of Provence, the Fathers of the council assured him that this happy change was in danger of being all undone by the count of Toulouse. At the same time they forwarded to him the documents connected with the affair of Raymond; ³ implored him to put a check on the presumption of Peter of Aragon; ⁴ and impressed upon

¹ They told the count that it was his fault "ne factum ipsius posset ulterius habere progressum absque summi pontificis licentia speciali." Ep. xvi. 39.

² Epp. xv. 212, 213, January 18 and 17, 1213.

³ Ep. xvi. 40, February 20, 1213. Cf. ep. xvi. 41, 42.

⁴ Ep. xvi. 44 of the bishop of Béziers to Innocent. Referring to Peter's having been anointed by the Pope, the bishop declared that

him that if either Raymond or his son recovered the territories he had lost, the prosperity which his policy had inaugurated would be destroyed.¹

Some of the documents sent to the Pope gave certain details of the conduct of the count. He and his "free companies" had slain more than a thousand clerical and lay Crusaders. He had kept the abbot of Montauban in prison for a year, had seized the abbot of Moissac, and had driven the bishop of Agen from his see, and had damaged his property to the amount of fifteen thousand solidi.²

Peter of
Aragon
blamed by
the Pope,
1213.

Enlightened by these letters and documents and by the words of their bearers, Innocent despatched a letter to Peter (June 1, 1213) in which he blamed him for the suppression of the truth by his envoys,³ and bade him abandon without delay the cause of Raymond of Toulouse.

Peter
adopts the
cause of
Raymond.

But neither archbishop⁴ nor Pope could stop the ambition of Peter of Aragon, which was in a brief space to carry him headlong to his ruin. Simon and his Crusaders were once more drawing near to Toulouse itself; and it became necessary for Peter to decide what course he was to pursue ere it became too late. He therefore definitely threw in his lot with his relative "saving the reverence due to his unction, he seems to have become a disloyal son."

¹ Ep. xvi. 45 of the bishop of Aix. We have been at pains to give an exact chronological account of these events, as we believe that it will suffice to dissipate not a few misleading accounts of these negotiations.

² Ep. xvi. 39, 41.

³ Ep. xvi. 48. "Per nuntios tuos suppressa veritate mendacium experimentes." At the same time he promised to send him, in accordance with his wishes, a cardinal legate *a latere* to negotiate peace if there was a real desire for it. Letters similar to this were sent to the papal legates, to Simon de Montfort, etc. Cf. Pierre, cc. 70, 73.

⁴ Ep. xvi. 43. Cf. xvi. 48, in which Innocent reminds Peter how much the favour he has shown him has advanced his power and fame.

Raymond,¹ and declared war on de Montfort, though he had offered to refer any differences between them to the decision of the Pope or his legate. The Aragonese monarch, says Pierre, was desirous of having the lands which the Crusaders had seized, and "of subjugating them to his own sway."²

But the hopes of Peter and Raymond were dashed to the ground. Against overwhelming odds the arms of de Montfort were completely victorious at Muret (or Murel). Peter of Aragon fell on the battlefield, but Raymond managed to escape,³ and in order to get means to continue the war made his way to England.

The battle of Muret, Sept. 12, 1213.

However, through the action of Nicholas, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, then legate here, he was soon expelled from the country "as an enemy of the Church," but not till, as it was said, he had received from King John ten thousand marks in return for his homage.⁴

Terrified by the remarkable victory of Muret, the citizens of Toulouse and several counts hastened to send envoys to Rome to offer to make their subjection to the Church. They would have as little communication as

The Pope sends a cardinal to make peace, 1214.

¹ Will. of T., c. 130, p. 197, tells how, despite the Crusaders, Peter had continued to ally himself by marriage with Raymond.

² *Ib.*, c. 131 f.; Pierre, cc. 67 and 70 *sub fin.*; the Chronicle of James I., cc. 8 and 9.

³ To the above authorities add Will. of Puy., c. 22, and the different contemporary annals which in considerable numbers mention this battle, *e.g.*, those of Reinerius, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. 667. At the same time Raymond declared that he would again go to Rome to complain of the manner in which de Montfort was depriving him of his dominions.

"Que el via al Papa far sos querelhamens
Quen Simos de Montfort ab sos mals cauzimens
La gitat de sa terra ab glazios turmens."—*Chanson*, c. 141.

⁴ Cf. Ber. Itherius, *Chron.*, an. 1214, p. 232, ap. *R. F. SS.*, xviii.; Ralph Coggeshall, *Chron.*, an. 1213, p. 168, R. S., and the *Annals of Waverley*, an. 1213.

possible with the fierce count of Leicester. Anxious to prevent further bloodshed, and to save the Crusade from being used as a means of personal aggrandisement, Innocent despatched to Languedoc Peter, cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro, with instructions to reconcile to the Church those who were willing to submit, provided that they offered sufficient guarantees of their good faith. At the same time he peremptorily ordered Simon de Montfort to restore Jayme or James, the son of their late monarch, to the Aragonese. The legate was, moreover, specially instructed to see to it that, if the people of Toulouse were reconciled to the Church, their city was not interfered with by Simon or by any of the Crusaders.¹

At first all went well. The youthful James was duly handed over to his people; the counts of Foix and Comminges submitted to the Church, giving up some strong castles in proof of their good faith; and even Toulouse and its count once more promised obedience to Rome.² Ray-

¹ Cf. epp. xvi. 170 (January 20), 171 (January 22), 172 (January 25), an. 1214. See also Will. of Puy., c. 23 (al. 24). Peter of Benevento is sent "finem pacis labori bellico . . . positurus"; Pierre, c. 77; and the *Chronicle* of James I., who tells (c. 10) that the Aragonese sent a mission to Innocent, "begging he should . . . put pressure on En Simon de Montfort by interdict or otherwise, that he might give me up, since I was their liege lord, and there was no other son of my father born of lawful marriage but me. That apostolic Pope Innocent was the best of Popes."

² Pierre; James' *Chron.*; Will. of Puy., *ib.*; the *Chanson*, c. 141, now in the hands of its virile continuator; and especially the acts of submission of the two counts and the people of Toulouse in Vaissete, *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, iii., Preuves, nn. 110-12, p. 239 ff. The counts of Foix and Comminges declare that they abjure their heresy of their own free will, and that they will do what the Church requires for peace and good government. April 18, 1214. The acts of submission of Raymond are given in the text of V., p. 261. Pierre, c. 78, in his advocacy of Simon de Montfort pretends without reason that the legate received the submission merely for form's sake, so as to enable de Montfort to proceed more easily with his military operations, and exclaims: "O legati pia fraus! O pietas fraudulenta." Pierre was a partisan indeed!

mond, of his own free will, as he declared, offered himself and his territories "to the Holy Roman Church" and to its legate; agreed to do whatever they should prescribe; and promised, if they should think fit, to withdraw to England or anywhere else, till he could in person visit the Apostolic See, there to plead for grace and mercy.

But de Montfort and his followers were, seemingly, unwilling to lose the spoils of war; and when the legate Peter betook himself to Aragon with its young sovereign, Cardinal Robert de Courçon (Curzon), who had been sent into France (*c.* May 1213) to preach a new Crusade for the Holy Land, invested Simon with the lands he had taken from the heretics in the dioceses of Cahors, Agen, Rodez, and Albi (July 1214).¹ Moreover, at a council held in January 1215 at Montpellier, and presided over by Cardinal Peter, the local bishops, naturally well informed as to the needs of the place and time, unanimously urged that Simon de Montfort should be proclaimed lord of Toulouse in place of Raymond; and, as the cardinal averred that it was beyond his power so to proclaim him, they sent to request the Pope to accede to their desires.²

By a letter, dated April 2, 1215, Innocent so far granted their petition as to acknowledge Simon's position as the actual lord of Raymond's territory till the question could be judged by the general council which he had summoned to meet in the month of November.³

Investiture
of de Mont-
fort, 1214.

Innocent
provision-
ally recog-
nises Simon
as lord of
Toulouse,
1215.

¹ See the deed ap. Vaiss., *ib.*, Pr., n. 114, p. 244.

² Pierre, c. 81; Vaiss., *ib.*, p. 266 f.

³ The letter is cited in full by Pierre, c. 82, p. 102. "Cum igitur totam terram quam Comes tenuit Tolosanus, cum aliis terris a cruce signatis obtentis, quæ a dilecto filio nostro Petro . . . tenentur per obsides vel custodes, usque ad tempus concilii generalis, in quo de ipsis consilio prælatorum plenius possimus salubriter ordinare, prudentiæ tuæ duximus committendas," etc. Cf. *Præclara Franc. facin.*, an. 1214.

The
Lateran
Council
favours
Simon.

Before the fathers of this most magnificent assembly of the intellect and power of Europe there appeared both Raymond and his young son, and other former leaders of the Albigenses, and, on Simon's behalf, his brother Guy. Although the Pope himself and a number of the prelates are stated to have been averse to depriving at least the young Raymond of his ancestral rights,¹ the great majority of the fathers of the council were of opinion that de Montfort should be recognised as lord of Languedoc.

Accordingly, on December 14, Innocent promulgated the decrees of the council assigning to Simon the territories of Raymond, who was to do penance in exile, but was to be allowed a pension of four hundred marks a year. It was, moreover, stipulated that a pension of one hundred and fifty marks of silver should be given to Raymond's wife, and that the young Raymond should have the domains east of the Rhône. The lands of the count of Foix were to be held by an abbot for his use.² The decision of the council was accepted by Philip of France,

¹ William the Breton, *Chron.*, n. 216, writes: "Comitem . . . et ejus filium . . . videbatur [Innocent] velle restituere ad terras suas quas eis catholici . . . de mandato Rom. Ecclesiæ . . . abstulerunt; quod ne fieret universum *fere* concilium reclamabat." See especially c. 142 ff. of the *Chanson*, where we are treated to a most lively, if imaginary, debate in the presence of the Pope, "true chief of religion. Senhor Apostoli ques vers religiosos." The author maintains that only the Pope, "who was wise and prudent," was in favour of the Raymonds, and says that he sarcastically pointed out that though Raymond was a Catholic and loyal, Simon was to have his lands:

"Baro ditz l'Apostols faitz es lo jutjaments
Que lo comte es catolix es capte leialmens
Mas en Simos tonga la terra."

C. 148. Cf. Pierre, c. 83.

² Potthast, nn. 5009-11; Will. of Puy., c. 26; *Catalogue des Actes de Simon*, n. 116 b, p. 88, from the original letter of Innocent with its seal attached by cords of hemp (*chanvre*). Cf. *ib.*, 115 a and b, and Vaiss., *l.c.*, Pr., n. 119, p. 251.

and he received the homage of the new count of Toulouse in the following year (April 1216).¹

Although Innocent did not live to see the end of the Albigensian heresy, his policy had prepared the way for its speedy demise. He heard the ringing of its death-knell. It is true that after his death (because, believes William of Puylaurens,² the Crusaders had begun to seek merely their own private interests) the young Raymond, who after the Lateran Council had remained some time with him, recovered most of his father's territories; that Simon de Montfort himself, whom he had been in the habit of constantly blaming and checking for acts of wanton violation of the rights of others,³ fell in battle a few years later (June 1218); and that the only one who ultimately reaped any temporal benefit from the Crusade was the king of France,⁴ still the doom of the Albigensians was sealed. The treaty of Paris (April 1229), between Raymond VII. and St. Louis IX., practically put an end to the war against them; and in the same year the important council of Toulouse ordered an *inquisition* against those who were suspected of heresy,⁵ which was, a few years later (1233), placed in the hands of the Dominicans or Friars Preachers. In 1244 the Albigensians' last, as well as their first, stronghold of Mont Segur, situated on an almost impregnable rock among the Pyrenees, was stormed; and, under the

The end of
the Albi-
gensian
heresy.

¹ *Catal.*, 127-8; Vaiss., *ib.*, p. 252; Pierre, c. 83.

² C. 27, al. 25.

³ Cf. *Catal.*, nn. 106, 117-9, 126a, 133-4, 139, 141a, for his quarrel with his former ardent supporter the abbot Arnold, now archbishop of Narbonne, etc. Raymond VI. did not die till 1222, helping his son meanwhile to recover his territories.

⁴ In 1271 Toulouse was incorporated with the kingdom of France, though already in 1229, by the treaty of Meaux, Raymond VII. had practically ceded it to St. Louis IX.

⁵ Will. of Puy., cc. 37, 38, al. 39, 40. Cf. Hefele, *Conciles*, viii. p. 231, Fr. ed.

year 1250, Matthew Paris writes that the errors of the Albigensians were finally dissipated by the diligence of the aforesaid Friars Preachers.¹ It was the "common sense" of the Papacy, *i.e.*, especially of Innocent III., that "saved Europe from fanatical heresies,"² is a conclusion of Mr. Sedgwick, with which we are in entire sympathy.

It assuredly is a pity that the salvation of Christendom should have cost so much blood. But many more lives have oft been sacrificed for ends much less valuable than those for which Innocent invoked the swords of the Christians of the North. Innocent was striving to maintain the principles upon which rested not merely the human society of the day in which he lived himself, but the principles upon which must rest all healthy society to the end of the world. Considering the possibilities of his time, it is very doubtful whether the progress of the anti-Christian and anti-social doctrines of the Albigenses could have been stopped in any other way than by the sword. It can scarcely be doubted that the men of any age know better than those who come after them the best means at

¹ *Abbrev. Chron.*, in vol. iii. of the *Hist. Anglorum*, p. 318, R. S. "Albigensium . . . Bugororum et aliorum errantium hæreses diligentia prædicatorum exsufflantur." A certain number of the heretics fled to Italy, and as they gradually returned to Languedoc they caused a small Albigensian revival in the fourteenth century. Cf. J. M. Vidal, "La fin de l'Albigéisme," ap. *Rev. des quest. hist.*, January 1906. See the same author's *Bullaire de l'inquisition française au xiv^e siècle*, Paris, 1913, in which he says, p. xliii: "L'albigéisme, la grande hérésie du xiii^e siècle, est presque éteint au xiv^e."

² *Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 348, London, 1913. In the Near East, as we have seen, upholders of Manichean doctrines survived to be stamped out of existence by the sword of the Moslems in the fifteenth century. In Lombardy and "in the territories subject to our temporal jurisdiction" (ep. ii. 1, March 25, 1199), where the Manichean doctrines had less hold than in Languedoc, the letters of Innocent show that the means advocated by him to restrain their upholders were in the main only civil disabilities and confiscation of property. Cf. also epp. i. 298, June 15, 1198; viii. 85, an. 1205, and 105 June 16.

their disposal for meeting the difficulties that come in their path. And the action of Innocent in the matter of the Albigenses was approved by perhaps the greatest international assembly that Europe has ever seen—the Lateran Council of the year 1215. No voice was raised against the action of Innocent in his own age; but, on the contrary, his moderation in the Albigensian struggle was praised by men whose sympathies were with the count of Toulouse.¹ After he had let slip the dogs of war, he strove to keep them in bounds, and to prevent them from working unnecessary havoc.

Whatever, therefore, may be our ideas now about putting down views and practices of any kind by violence, it would seem to be wise to conclude that the men of the thirteenth century dealt with the Albigensian trouble in the manner which was to them the most practical. And that Innocent's connection with it was not regarded by his contemporaries as in any way *outré* may be safely inferred from the language of a troubadour. Although Aimeric de Pegulhan, the troubadour of Toulouse, had been driven from his native land by the Albigensian Crusade, was reported to be a heretic, and was a professed admirer of Frederick II.,² the Pope was still to him: "lo bos pap' Innocens—the Good Pope Innocent."³

¹ Cf. the author of the *Chanson*, cc. 172, 174, in addition to passages bearing on the point already quoted. In the latter chapter it is urged that Rome and Christendom would exterminate de Montfort if he ventured to break any convention. "Que Roma lauciria e la crestian-datz." Many of Innocent's letters, apart even from those which he wrote to restrain Simon, show his moderation. Cf., e.g., v. 36, ii. 235; xii. 69 and 67. In the last named he writes: "Plerique homines facilius commonitionibus quam comminationibus revocantur, et non-nullos affabilitas gratiæ magis corrigit quam asperitas disciplinæ."

² He describes Frederick as a physician who "physics us according to our needs, and does not take but rather gives rewards. Never was physician like to him—so wise, so fair, so valorous and good," ap. Miss T. Farnell, *The Lives of the Troubadours*, p. 213.

³ Quoted by Sedgwick, *Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, i. p. 14

CHAPTER II.

REFORM, AND MATTERS CONNECTED THEREWITH. THE FOURTH GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN (1215). DEATH OF INNOCENT.

Sources.—The acts of the twelfth general council (fourth of the Lateran) may be read in any of the great collections of the councils, *e.g.*, Labbe, vol. xi. p. 117 ff., or Mansi, vol. xxii. *Cf.* Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, t. viii. p. 112 ff.

Innocent's pontificate was glorified by the appearance during it of the greatest two reformers of his age, SS. Francis and Dominic, with whom he came into personal contact. In recent years the researches of Mons. Paul Sabatier, and others who have been fired by his enthusiasm and have followed his example, have brought to light a number of early documents connected with the life of St Francis, and have done much towards clearing up obscure points regarding the original writings of St. Francis himself and of his first biographers. Indeed, so much has been written on these subjects that it is quite impossible to give any detailed account of them here. That must be sought in the modern works which will be cited immediately. We must content ourselves with setting forth some of the conclusions of the most recent critics of Franciscan literature which appear to be generally accepted. See on this subject A. G. Little, "The Sources of the History of St. Francis," *ap. Eng. Hist. Rev.*, October 1902, p. 643 ff.

The best edition of the few writings of St. Francis is that published by the Franciscans of Quaracchi, 1904 (*Opuscula S. Patris Franc.*). The most important authority for his life is Brother Thomas of Celano, the author, as is commonly believed, of the *Dies Iræ*.¹ He wrote two *Lives* of the saint. The first,

¹ He is also credited with having written the *Life of St. Clare*, ed. F. Pennacchi. English trans. by Fr. P. Robinson, London, 1910.

known as the *Legenda prima* or *Gregoriana*, was written between the years 1227 and 1230, perhaps in the first-named year. Thomas wrote of what he had seen and heard himself, or of what he had gathered from trustworthy witnesses. It is a comparatively short *Life*, and was drawn up, in consequence of an order of Pope Gregory IX., for the world at large. The *Legenda secunda*, written more for the Order, was compiled by the command of the Minister-General, Crescentius, and was completed before the year 1247. The best edition of these *Lives* is that by Ed. d'Alençon, Rome, 1906. St. Bonaventure's *Legend of St. Francis*, ed. Quaracchi, *i.e.*, ad Claras Aquas, 1898, is rather a work of edification. Then comes the *Legend of the Three Companions*, *S. Francisci Legendum Trium Sociorum*, ed. M. Faloci-Pulignani, Foligno, 1898, written about the year 1270. The *Speculum Perfectionis S. Fran.*, ed. P. Sabatier, Paris, 1898, which its editor supposed was written in the year 1227 by Brother Leo, the companion of St. Francis, is now properly regarded as a compilation of the fourteenth century (1318), resting, no doubt, on much of Leo's material.¹ The Italian *Fioretti* (ed. Cæsari, Verona, or Fornaciari, Florence, 1902) is supposed to be a translation of a lost Latin original, and to have been completed between the years 1322 and 1328. Of later works and chronicles touching St. Francis and his followers there is no need to mention here more than the chronicle of Jordanus of Giano (1207-1238), written in 1262, ed. Boehmer, Paris, 1908.

The English reader is very fortunate in being able to make himself acquainted with all the important original sources for the history of St. Francis through translations. Of these we give a list.

The Lives of St. Francis, by Thos. of Celano, trans. by A. G. Ferrers-Howell, London, 1908; *The Legend of St. Francis*, by the Three Companions, trans. by Miss E. G. Salter, London, 1905 (Temple Classics); *The Life of St. Francis*, by St. Bonaventure, trans. by Miss Lockhart, London, 1898, or Miss E. G. Salter,

¹ The shorter edition of the *Speculum*, published by L. Lemmens, Quaracchi, 1901, is regarded as a later version, as is also his ed. *ib.*, of the life of Bro. Giles (b. Ægidii). His *Extractiones de legenda antiqua*, *ib.*, 1902, is only a series of extracts from the *Speculum* and the *Leg. sec.* of Celano.

London, 1904 (Temple Classics); *St. Francis of Assisi, the Mirror of Perfection*, trans. by the Countess de la Warr, London, 1902, or by S. Evans, London, 1899; *The Writings of St. Francis*, by Fr. P. Robinson, London, 1906; and *The Little Flowers of St. Francis*, a new trans. by Mr. T. Okey, founded on that made by the Franciscan Fathers of Upton, London, 1912, or by T. W. Arnold (Temple Classics). C. Eubel's *Bullarii Franciscani Epitome*, apud Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1908, gives an analysis of all the bulls of the Popes relating to the Franciscan Order, and the full text of the more important ones.

The early literature connected with St. Dominic is not so well known nor so popular as that connected with his friend. The most important *Life* of him is that by his contemporary Blessed Jordan of Saxony, who succeeded him as Master-General of the Dominican Order. This *Life*, written before 1234, and the same author's circular letter to the brethren on the occasion of the saint's translation (May 24, 1233),¹ may be read in the collection of Jordan's works published by J. J. Berthier in 1891, Fribourg in Switzerland, 1891. Jordan's letter and *Life*, and that by Bartholomew of Trent, who also knew the saint and wrote between 1234 and 1251, as well as the later *Life* (compiled in 1292) by Theodoric of Apolda, and the various acts connected with the saint's canonisation, have all been published by the Bollandists, *Acta SS.*, 4 Aug., vol. i. Constantine, bishop of Orvieto, wrote a *Life* about the year 1245, which has been edited by Quétif and Echard, *SS. Ord. Prædicat.*, i., Paris, 1719. Humbert de Romanis, the fifth Master-General, besides a *Life* of St. Dominic, wrote a dry and sparse but valuable chronicle of the Order² (1203-54) which some have assigned to Gérard de Frachet (†1271), who was certainly the author in 1259 of the *Vitæ Fratrum* (ed. Reichert, *Mon. Ord. Prædicatorum*, Louvaine, 1896), which may be described as the Dominican *Fioretti*. It has been translated into English by Father P. Conway, O.P., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1896,

¹ Translated by Father Conway, *Lives of the Brethren*, p. 301.

² The latter part of this *Chron. Ord. Præd.*, i.e., from the year 1222, may be read ap. *R. F. SS.*, xxiii. p. 173 ff. Extracts from it are given ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi.; but Reichert, in the work cited in the text, has given the best edition of the chronicle.

under the title of *Lives of the Brethren*.¹ Appended to his *Lives*, the same Father also published a translation of the *Life* of the saint by Sister Cecilia, an aged nun, who about 1280 dictated reminiscences of Dominic which her age had robbed somewhat of their accuracy.²

Modern Works.—The results of the impulse given to Franciscan studies by the appearance of the Huguenot minister Sabatier's *Vie de S. François d'Assise* in 1894 (Eng. trans. by L. S. Houghton, London, 1902) have been such as to put out of date the modern *Lives* of the saint which were issued before that time, and even that of Sabatier himself. We will therefore only quote the *fine* works: *St. Francis of Assisi*, by the convert Dane, J. Jørgensen; Eng. trans. by T. Sloane, London, 1912, and *Life of St. Francis* (perhaps the best *Life* which has been written), by Father Cuthbert, London, 1912. See also *Frère Élie de Cortone*, by Ed. Lempp, Paris, 1901.

With regard to St. Dominic we may note the *Vie de S. Dominique*, by Père H. D. Lacardaire, 5th ed., Paris, 1857, remarkable chiefly for its eloquent diction; *The History of St. Dominic*, by Augusta T. Drane, London, 1891; and especially *St. Dominic* (Eng. trans), by J. Guiraud, London, 1901. The work of R. P. Mortier, *Hist. des Maîtres Généraux de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs* (vol. i., Paris, 1903), is still in progress, and is a very valuable production.

THE labours of Innocent in connection with the Albigenses were part of his work for the reformation of the Church, "for withdrawing the wicked from their vices, and for encouraging the good in virtue."³ The two great objects of his pontificate, which he always kept before his eyes and constantly proclaimed, were the rescue of the Holy Land from the grasp of the Moslem, and the regeneration

Innocent's
two great
objects.

¹ In *R. F. SS.*, xxi. p. 3 ff., a chronicle from 1230 to 1268 is assigned to G. de F.

² The original was published by Mamachi in his *Annales Ord. Prædicat.*, Rome, 1756. The *Bullarium Ord. Prædicat.*, ed. Ripoll, 8 vols., Rome, 1729 ff., gives the bulls of the Popes concerning the Order.

³ Ep. ii. 141.

both of the lay and of the clerical elements of the Church. Despite the deplorable failure of his first attempt to redeem the Holy Land, we have seen with how great courage he resumed his efforts for what he regarded as a most sacred object. The necessity of wiping out the disgrace of the loss of Jerusalem was ever before his eyes. So, too, in the midst of all his great enterprises, while judging between rival emperors, while compelling recalcitrant kings to obey the laws of God and the Church, and while reorganising the Greek Church, he never failed in his toil to make the Church more holy. The Papacy, which he declared to be the "foundation of the whole of Christendom" was pure, he knew. He could not but be conscious of his own singleness of purpose. All then in touch with the Papacy must be kept pure or be purified, and the nearer any were to the Papacy, the more spotless must they be.

The clergy,
the bishops.

The clergy must be better than the laity, and all must be ruled by the Apostolic See, whose decrees must be inviolate, was Innocent's fundamental view of the Church. "Those," he wrote, "who have in an especial manner been made heirs of God must excel the laity in their lives as in their superior dignity."¹ And: "the authority of the Apostolic See requires that what is sanctioned by it must remain ever firm and inviolate, so that it cannot be shaken by the rash temerity of any one whomsoever."²

These ideas were not new in the history of the Papacy. They were as much the ideas of St. Gregory VII. as of Innocent, and as much the ideas of St. Gregory the Great as of Hildebrand. At work during the whole lifetime of the Papacy before the days of Innocent III., they had from time to time, in the grip of a strong man, or from predisposing circumstances, received a more extended application. Under any conditions, with the

¹ Ep. i. 309.

² i. 86.

leaven of such ideas at work, the government of the Church must have become more and more centralised, must have devolved more and more into the hands of the Popes. But when they had the head and heart of such a man as Lothario Conti as seed-ground, their growth in the direction of centralisation was marked. Innocent was no innovator,¹ but he did not forget precedents; he expounded no new theories with regard to papal authority, but he showed how the old ones could be applied to fresh practical cases; and if he made no new laws, his great legal knowledge and his keen sense of justice enabled him to bring many new cases within the grasp of the old enactments.

His action, no doubt, did increase the growing "effective domination" of the Papacy in the Church, and one is glad to say with Luchaire that his action was in most cases "for the advantage of order, peace, and general morality."²

Innocent, like his predecessors, regarded all that concerned bishops as among those "greater causes" that were always considered as subject to the direct authority of the Holy See. He would not, indeed, interfere with the initial freedom of election of bishops, but he was not slow to interfere at once if the election was in any way faulty.

The bishops were the officers of the Church, and not of the Crown. They were subjects of the Pope, and not of the king or even of an archbishop. Their jurisdiction must, therefore, not be altered by any metropolitan, and still less by the State. Innocent would never consent to their sees being changed by anyone but himself, or to any authority but that of Rome accepting their resignations.³

¹ Hence his letters are crowded with appeals to the decisions of his predecessors.

² Vol. vi. p. 90.

³ Ep. i. 117. "*Hujus autem Domini et magistri omnium magisterium sancti Patres diligentius attendentes, majores Ecclesiæ causas, utpote*

Similarly, if bishops needed correction he would not have them punished by any but himself; but if need arose he did not hesitate to use his authority against them.¹

Because Innocent believed that bishops were set to rule the Church of God, and because he knew that the subject was like his master, one of the chief tasks he imposed upon himself was the elevation of the episcopacy. He would have his "fellow-bishops" good and zealous, as he could not be everywhere himself.² It was especially with a view to being able to correct the luxury of the prelates that he adopted that simple style of living to which attention has already been called.³ Sometimes their luxury, sometimes their magnificence, sometimes lawsuits, and occasionally no doubt personal avarice, kept some of them in constant want of money, and their impecuniosity led them into simony, and into inventing devices for eluding the laws that already existed against it. But Innocent tracked them to earth, unmasking for instance their attempts to obtain money for the chrism which they consecrated on Holy Thursday. At one time they tried to conceal the moneys they exacted in payment for the chrism by calling them *chrismales*, and then *paschales*; and because these names were too suggestive, they finally named them "mid-Lent dues."⁴

cessionones episcoporum et sedium translationes, sine apostolicæ sedis licentia fieri vetuere." Cf., e.g., i. 177, ii. 278, and *Gesta*, cc. 43-45.

¹ "Quot enim praelatos a suis dignitatibus deposuerit, enarrare quis posset?" asks the author of the *Gesta*, c. 130, and he proceeds to give numerous examples of episcopal depositions in different countries.

² Ep. i. 499, ii. 202.

³ *Ib.*, c. 148. Cf. *supra*, vol. xi. p. 54.

⁴ Ep. ii. 104, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury about his suffragans. The Pope tells how these bishops, in fear of canonical punishment, changed both the name given to money they exacted and the time of receiving it. They received in mid-Lent what they used to receive after Easter. "Et, ut causam accipiendi dissimulent, nomen etiam variarunt, denarios, quos prius chrismales, secundo paschales dicebant, consuetudinem mediæ quadragesimæ nuncupantes." Cf. ep. 144, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217.

But if Innocent was called upon at intervals to take proceedings against members of the hierarchy, he had naturally more frequently to urge them to reform the inferior clergy. He encouraged the local bishops freely and boldly to correct their vices,¹ and he instructed his legates-extraordinary to reform churches as they made their progresses through the countries to which they were sent.² He strove to check the accumulation of benefices in the hands of one person. Appealing to the action of his predecessors Lucius III. and Clement III., "by the authority of these presents," he authorised the bishop of Troyes to force those to conform to the canon law who, "urged on by depraved cupidity, are striving in opposition to the decrees of the Lateran Council to hold several churches or ecclesiastical benefices, when they could suitably support themselves with the revenues of one."³ In this same letter he also opposed another abuse. In order to be able to obtain ecclesiastical revenues, but with no thought of taking upon themselves the obligations of the priesthood, certain self-seekers had themselves tonsured, and thus entered the clerical state. Innocent agreed that the bishop should compel such men to receive the higher orders, if need for their services should arise, and they should be found suitable.⁴

Among the inferior clergy also, as among the superior, he had to contend with the vice of simony, and he urged the bishops to take strong measures against it.⁵ Like his predecessors he condemned clerical marriage, and he bade the bishop of Norwich, among others, deprive those clerics of their benefices who, endeavouring "to serve God and mammon," . . . "have contracted matrimony

¹ i. 330, x. 154, xii. 24. ² See his letter to Brother Rainer, i. 395.

³ Ep. i. 191, an. 1198. Cf. i. 414, 471; xiv. 158; xvi. 14.

⁴ *Ib.* Cf. viii. 10, 144; xiv. 130.

⁵ Cf. *e.g.*, i. 261; ii. 148, 156, 172; xi. 138.

solemnly in the face of the Church.”¹ As he pointed out to another of our bishops, Henry of Exeter, as well as to his brother of Norwich, clerical marriage was followed by material evils as well as by spiritual. The incumbents either bled their parishes in the interests of their children, or endeavoured to turn “the sanctuary of God into an hereditary possession.” Sons who, under such circumstances, succeeded their fathers were to be at once stripped of all ecclesiastical benefices—“appeals to the contrary notwithstanding.”²

The letter from which we have just been quoting reveals another abuse, namely, that of the patrons of livings presenting unfit candidates for them. To cope with this evil the bishop is commanded, “relying on our authority,” to appoint to vacancies himself, if the patrons, after due notice, persist in nominating unsuitable candidates.³ Further, if any such undesirable persons have been intruded into churches, they must be removed.⁴ The bishops must also compel their clergy to residence.⁵

Innocent
strives to
protect the
clergy.

But if Innocent was anxious to reform the lesser clergy, he was also desirous of improving their lot. He strove to protect them against oppression at the hands of their clerical superiors or of laymen, and, in common with the whole body of the clergy, from the encroachments of the lay power.⁶ He endeavoured, for instance, to preserve their ancient privileges of immunity from certain taxes, and of exemption from the civil courts.⁶ While,

¹ vi. 103.

² Ep. v. 66 ; *cf.* 67, which embraces letters to the abbeſs of Remiremont, the archbiſhop of Trier, etc., and gives details as to the means adopted to ſecure hereditary ſucceſſion of benefices. See alſo viii. 147 and 148 for a ſimilar abuſe.

³ vii. 147. *Cf.* i. 59, ii. 20, againſt ſuch patrons as would not nominate any candidates for their benefices. *Cf.* i. 460.

⁴ i. 79.

⁵ i. 107, xii. 25.

⁶ Ep. ii. 162-3. *Cf.* i. 310, where he reſerves to the Apoſtolic See the abſolution of thoſe who have diſplayed great violence to clerics.

too, on the one hand he was constantly protecting them from the undue procurations exacted by archdeacons and their officials,¹ he endeavoured on the other to secure to them their dues in the matter of tithes.² Moreover, he did not fail, if he found a bishop like Renaud of Chartres proclaiming the liberties of his clergy by special charter, to bestow upon him his warm commendations.³

The Monastic Orders also received a large share of Innocent's attention. He had to face a period of monastic decay. Relaxations were ruining their spiritual possessions, and perpetual lawsuits were destroying their property. Accordingly, he commissioned bishops to undertake their reformation,⁴ and worked for their betterment himself by direct communications with the abbeys concerned, and by gifts of money.⁵ He approved of the constitution of the Premonstratensian abbots whereby, in order to preserve monastic simplicity, they decided not to wear mitres or gloves, and he himself commanded a strict adherence to the monastic rules with regard to the dress of the monks.⁶ Monks were not to live alone,⁷

The
Monastic
Orders.

See also ii. 243, iii. 51-2, vi. 81-2, 149; vii. 41 is a severe letter to the archbishop of Ravenna bidding him restrain the Podestà and the consuls of Modena, who, unmindful of what God has done for them, are endeavouring to bring His Spouse the Church "sub tributo," and to drag clerics before lay tribunals. Cf. vii. 113, 225; x. 64; and xvi. 161.

¹ ii. 119.

² ix. 220, xi. 24.

³ i. 45, cf. 86.

⁴ i. 6, 8, 234, and 273, which concerns the famous monastery of the isle of Lerins. Innocent speaks of that once flourishing home of learning "ad eum statum sit miserabiliter devolutum, quod nec regularia in eo instituta servantur, nec fratres ibidem de ipsius possint facultatibus congrue sustentari." (See *The Hist. of the Islands of the Lerins*, by A. C. Cooper-Marsdin, Cambridge, 1913); x. 155.

⁵ i. 311, 336, which relates to the celebrated abbey of Monte Cassino. The Pope grieves that the sweet odour of sanctity "quæ . . . ad cætera monasteria quondam effluerat . . . ex majori jam parte deficit." Cf. v. 149, x. 228; and *Gesta*, c. 126.

⁶ i. 197.

⁷ x. 153.

whilst such as had taken to a wandering life were to be reinclosed in their monasteries.¹ At the same time, as in the case of the lower secular clergy, he did not leave them at the mercy of the powerful in the Church, but forbade any prelate unduly to harass them.²

The Trinitarians and Humiliati.

Innocent also encouraged the introduction of fresh blood into the ranks of monasticism. He viewed with favour the rise of new orders of a practical character, whether the clerical or lay element predominated in them. By a brief of December 17, 1198, addressed to "John (of Matha) the minister, and to the brethren of the Holy Trinity," he confirmed "the intention of Brother John the minister which is believed to have sprung from divine inspiration, and which he has humbly made known to us." He granted John a special strict rule of life calculated to help him in his "intention" to work for the redemption of Christian captives from slavery. Innocent thus brought into being the charitable *Ordo de redemptione captivorum* or *Trinitarians*.³

About a year later we find Innocent concerned about a body of men in Lombardy known as the *Humiliati* (the *Humbled*). In obedience to his mandates, the prelates of north Italy, following a lead of Pope Lucius III.,⁴ had excommunicated various communities which they had regarded as heretical, such as the Cathari, Poor Men of Lyons, etc., "and *Humiliati* who had not yet obeyed

¹ i. 80, 446; vii. 178.

² i. 95.

³ i. 481. Cf. 552 and ii. 9, March 8, 1199, addressed "to the illustrious Miramolin, king of Morocco," in which he commends the new order to him, telling him that its members have decided to devote the third part of all their resources to the redemption of Christian captives by money or by exchange, and pointing out to him that such an order will benefit both Christians and pagans. Cf. *L'ordre des Trinitaires*, by P. Deslandres, Toulouse, 1903. On February 9, 1217, Honorius III. confirmed the work of his predecessor regarding the Trinitarians. Cf. his *Register*, ed. Pressutti, i. p. 57.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, vol. x. pp. 257-260.

the 'apostolic injunctions.'" Some of the ecclesiastical authorities, however, had not been too discriminating, and had included in the ban men who, so wrote the Pope to the bishop of Verona, "are called by the people *Humiliati*, and who, as it is said, are not heretics but orthodox, and strive to serve God in humility of heart and body."¹

In the second half of the twelfth century there had sprung up in Milan (a very hotbed of heretics),² Verona, and other cities of northern Italy, a number of associations of workers composed both of men and women. The end which these toilers set before themselves was mutual support, and the sanctification of their work by prayer and good deeds. The sombre habit which they adopted, and their unassuming manners, caused them to be styled *Humiliati* by the populace. The idea of mutual help for soul and body became popular, and these associations, of the exact origin of which there does not appear to be any knowledge, spread throughout the north of Italy.

In a short time, after a number of the clergy had joined them, they were found divided into three orders. The first consisted of "brothers" and "nuns"; the second of lay men and women living apart but under one male head, wearing a common habit, and following some kind of a regular mode of life; and the third of men and women who remained in the world but were also amenable to a rule of life. Hence that branch which was the first in point of time came to be accounted the third in degree.

Not unnaturally, seeing that for the most part they were composed of simple people, some of these communities were captured by the Cathari. In his general watchfulness over the Church, Innocent perceived that,

¹ ii. 228, December 6, 1199.

² Jacques de Vitry, ep. October 1216, ap. H. Boehmer, *Analekten zur Geschichte des Francis von Assis*, 1904, p. 95.

to save the Humiliati from being lost to the Church, they must be brought into closer touch with the hierarchy and be organised on recognised lines. From his letter which has just been cited, it is clear that the bishops of north Italy did not at first grasp the situation. They found Humiliati contaminated with the doctrines of the Cathari, and excommunicated all of them. But Innocent understood that there were Humiliati and Humiliati. He therefore impressed upon the bishops the necessity of more accurate examination into the condition of the Humiliati. The subsequent search revealed the fact that perhaps the greater number of the associations were quite orthodox in their belief and practice. These communities were definitely approved by Innocent, and a rule, based upon that of St. Augustine for his canons, was imposed upon them.¹

When he had thus safely launched the Humiliati, he did not forget them. From time to time he wrote en-

¹ "Hic etiam Innocentius Papa regulam dedit (1199) Fratribus tertii Ordinis Humiliatorum. . . . Qui quidem . . . fundatores fuerunt primi et secundi ordinis Humiliatorum." F. Pipinus, *Chron.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix. p. 633. He wrote about 1320, and was a special student of Milanese history. The words of the Anonymous of Laon, *Chron.*, ad an. 1178, "pro fide catholica se opposcentes," show that the associations were originally Catholic at any rate. Jacques de Vitry: "Vivunt autem in communi, ex magna parte de labore manuum suarum." The men and women of the communities were so separated as rarely to speak to or see one another. *Hist. occident.*, l. ii. p. 335 of the Douay ed. In his letter of October 1216, just cited, Jacques says: "A summo autem pontifice, a quo habent auctoritatem predicandi et resistendi hereticis (qui etiam religionem confirmavit) Humiliati vocantur. . . . De labore manuum suarum vivunt, verbum Dei frequenter predicant et libenter audiunt, in fide perfecti et stabiles." Innocent's rule, beginning "Omnis boni," "carefully corrected and here inserted," is reproduced in a bull of Gregory IX. (June 7, 1227). Cf. Potthast, n. 7925. On June 7, 1201, Innocent issued a document to the third order of the Humiliati (the Tertiaries), containing their rule; and the bull *Diligentiam* (December 16, 1219) of Honorius III. reproduces the bull of Innocent (June 12, 1201) to the second order of the H.

couraging letters to them,¹ and urged the Lombard communes, ever in need of money in order to carry on their perpetual wars against each other, not to impose undue taxes on the Humiliati, "who are leading a *common life*."²

It is no part of our work to trace the history of the Humiliati, to set forth their influence on the development of the woollen trade, and the great esteem long felt for them by their fellow-citizens, who often entrusted to them the most important offices of the commune.³ At last, however, temporal prosperity brought about their decay, and these once interesting and pious communities were suppressed by Pius V.

But the good-will of Innocent was also exerted in behalf of one who was to exercise a greater influence on the world than even whole orders like the Humiliati. Before he had addressed, in behalf of the pious associations of labour, his letter to the podestàs and rectors of Lombardy, there had been heard in the golden vale of Umbria a sweet, clear voice that in winning tones again sounded the praises of the simplest forms of Christian life. The voice was as the voice of Orpheus. Men of all ranks were enraptured by it, and followed after it.

St. Francis
of Assisi,
1182-1226.

¹ Pott., n. 4945, December 8, 1214.

² *Ib.*, n. 4944. The letters of Innocent regarding the Humiliati are not found in his Register. They have been collected and published by Tiraboschi, *Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta*, Milan, 1766. A number of new documents have been published for the first time by L. Zaroni, *Gli Umiliati*, Milan, 1911, whose researches have put previous works on the Humiliati out of date. His excellent book would have been made more valuable if his *conclusioni* had contained a clear summary of the results of his labours. The protection accorded by Innocent III. to the Humiliati was continued by his great successors Gregory IX. (*Regest.*, nn. 2995-6, ed. Auvray) and Innocent IV. (*Regest.*, nn. 2770-1, ed. Berger).

³ Butler, *The Lombard Communes*. "The growth of the woollen industry was in a great measure due to the religious order of the Umiliate" (p. 228). Two of its members "managed the finances" of Verona (p. 433).

The very animals paused in their wantonness to listen to it, or laid aside their fierceness to be guided by it. It was a voice that in the midst of the clang of arms preached peace, peace,¹ and mid the vagaries of licence proclaimed obedience to authority. In its timbre there was no harsh clangour; nor did words of bitter denunciation spring from it. The bruised reed it broke not, and the smoking flax it did not extinguish. Yet the voice of Francis of Assisi was strong. It forced its way into the hearts of men and women, and it was soon the leader of a new and mighty chorus of praise and love that day by day rose up to the throne of God.

He visits
Rome.

With his mind full of thoughts of peace and of that respect for authority whence peace flows,² his heart naturally turned to him whom he regarded as the earthly representative of the Prince of Peace, and to where he believed authority in spiritual concerns had set its seat. He turned his feet towards Rome, and, to quote the words of his latest biographer: "He seems to have gone to Rome whenever he undertook any scheme of importance."³ His first visit to Rome was in the beginning of his conversion (c. 1206), when, if he saw the Pope at all, it was only on some public occasion.

Francis
strives to
win papal
sanction
for his
order, 1209
or 1210.

The second time he appeared in Rome was after a

¹ "Tota vero verborum ejus discurrebat materies ad extinguendas inimicitias et ad pacis federa reformanda," says Thomas of Spalato, who saw and heard the saint. *Cf. Hist. Salon.*, c. 26.

² Fr. Cuthbert, *St. Francis*, pp. 165, 170. The respect of the saint for priests "who live according the rule of the Holy Roman Church—qui vivunt secundum formam sanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ" was so great that, as he asserted in his will, even if they persecuted him, he would still have recourse to them; even if he had the wisdom of Solomon he would not preach in opposition to the most helpless of them; and even if they were stained with sin they would still be his lords, as he saw Christ in them. *Cf. his Testamentum* at the end of Sabatier's ed. of the *Speculum Perfect.*, p. 309 f.

³ P. 211, n.

vision he had had of the marvellous spread of his order throughout the world. Accordingly, feeling the need of a world-wide sanction for what was to affect the world, Francis and his company, then no more than twelve in all, went to Rome in the spring (April 23) of 1209, or in the summer of 1210.¹ Jerome of Ascoli, afterwards Pope Nicholas IV. (†1292), who succeeded St. Bonaventure as General of the Franciscan Order (1274-9), giving as his authority the word of a nephew of Innocent himself, tells us that Francis, thinking in the simplicity of his heart that it was best to go to the fountain-head direct, sought out the Pope in the Lateran Palace. He found him walking in a corridor, and at once laid his request before him. But, with his mind full of the Albigenian trouble, Innocent, seeing the coarse garb and generally unkempt appearance of the saint, imagined that he had before him another of those fanatical lay preachers who were then disturbing a large part of Europe, and summarily bade him begone.²

¹ On the date see Jörgensen, p. 83 n., and Father Robinson, *The Writings of St. Francis*, p. 25 n.

² An addition to St. Bonaventure's *Leg. maj.*, c. 3, n. 9, p. 98, n. 1, ed. Quaracchi, 1898, ap. Cuthbert, p. 81. Another late writer, Matthew Paris, is by most modern authors made responsible for the following embellished version of the incident mentioned in the text. Without saying whence he had the story, he tells us that when Innocent looked at Francis and saw his garments and face equally unkempt ("vultum despicabilem . . . capillos incultos, supercilia pendentia et nigra"), and heard the hard rule he proposed to put into practice, he bade him: "Go, brother, find some pigs, whom you resemble more than you do men; roll in the mud with them, preach to them, and give them your rule." Francis, having fulfilled the command literally, returned all covered with mud to the Pope. "My lord," he said, "I have done as you bade me. Now grant me my petition." Ashamed of what he had said, and full of admiration for Francis, "by a privilege of the Roman Church" Innocent gave him the right to preach and confirmed his order. *Chron. maj.*, an. 1227, iii. p. 131 f., R. S. This is, of course, merely silly gossip. But it is really Roger of Wendover and not Matthew Paris who is primarily responsible for it.

But Francis had already learnt the lesson of humility, and, as he "longed exceedingly that his pattern and rule of life might be confirmed by the lord Pope Innocent," he was, if somewhat discouraged, at any rate not irritated.¹ Fortunately his bishop, Guido, who had always stood by him, chanced to be in Rome. Hearing of what had happened, he promised Francis his help, and got him introduced to "the reverend lord bishop of Sabina, named John of St. Paul, who among the princes and great ones of the Roman court seemed to be a despiser of earthly and a lover of heavenly things. This man received him with kindness and charity, and warmly commended his will and purpose. But," says Thomas of Celano, whom we are quoting, "being a far-seeing and judicious man, he began to question St. Francis on many points, and urged him to embrace the life of a monk or of a hermit. St. Francis, however, as humbly as he could, refused to yield to the cardinal's persuasion, . . . (who), fearing lest he might flinch from so stern a purpose, pointed out easier ways. At length, overcome by the steadfastness of St. Francis' entreaties, he gave in, and strove henceforth to further his business with the Pope. At that time," continues Thomas, "the lord Pope Innocent III. ruled over the Church, a glorious man, one, moreover, of abundant learning, renowned in discourse, fervent in zeal for righteousness."²

Convinced now from what he had heard from the Cardinal John of St. Paul and from Bishop Guido that Francis was no socialistic follower of Arnold of Brescia, nor a wild preacher of race-suicide, Innocent agreed to

¹ Celano, *Vit. I.*, c. 13, or nn. 32, 33, Howell's trans. Cf. the *Legend of the Three Companions*, c. 12 or n. 46. "Let us go therefore unto our mother, the Holy Roman Church, and notify unto the Pope that which the Lord hath begun to work through us, that by his good pleasure and command we may carry on that which we have begun."

² Celano, *ib.*

receive him ; but he feared, as the cardinal had at first done, that " Francis' proposed way of life was beyond his strength." The same fear was expressed by several of the cardinals who were present. Whereupon the cardinal-bishop of Sabina made answer : " If we refuse the request of this poor man as a thing too hard and untried, when his petition is that the pattern of Gospel life may be sanctioned for him, let us beware lest we stumble at the Gospel of Christ." ¹

Moved by this appeal, and " being a man of the utmost discernment, he said to Francis : ' Pray, my son, to Christ, that through thee He may show us His will.' . . . The saint obeyed the Supreme Pastor's bidding, and confidently flew to Christ." ² The answer to his prayer, we are told, ³ came to him in the form of a parable : " Thus shalt thou say to the Pope : A poor but beautiful woman dwelt in a wilderness. A king loved her for her exceeding comeliness. He married her gladly, and begat beauteous sons by her. When they were grown and were nobly brought up, their mother said to them, ' Be not ashamed, beloved, that ye are poor, for ye are all sons of that great king. Go therefore gladly to his court, and ask him for all that ye need.' . . . They therefore boldly presented themselves before the king, . . . who, recognising his own likeness in them, inquired with wonder whose sons they were. And while they affirmed that they were the sons of that poor woman dwelling in the wilderness, the king embraced them, and said : ' Ye are my sons and heirs.' This woman," continues Thomas of Celano, " was Francis, fruitful in many sons not fashioned in softness. The wilderness was the world, at that time untilled and barren in the teaching of virtue. The king was the Son of God," whom the sons of Francis resembled.

¹ St. Bonaventure, *Leg. maj.*, c. iii. n. 9, Miss Salter's trans.

² Celano, *Vit. II.*, c. 11, n. 16.

³ *Ib.*

Francis
wins a
verbal
approval
from the
Pope.

When Innocent had heard this parable, it "recalled a vision that he had himself seen a few days before, and he affirmed, under the teaching of the Holy Ghost, that it also would be fulfilled in this man. He had seen in his sleep that the Lateran basilica was on the point of falling, and that a certain religious, a man small and despised, was propping it on his own back, that it might not fall."¹ Hence "he quickly granted what he had asked, and earnestly promised to grant yet greater things than these. And thenceforth, by virtue of the authority conferred on him, Francis began to scatter the seeds of virtue, preaching yet more fervently as he went about the cities and towns."²

The verbal approval which Innocent had thus given to the saint was, we are assured, later on ratified by him *in consistory*;³ and, after Francis had "on bended knees humbly and devoutly promised the lord Pope obedience

¹ Celano, *l.c.* Constantine of Orvieto relates a similar vision of Innocent in connection with St. Dominic.

² Celano, *ib.* *Cf. Vit. I.*, c. 13, n. 33. When on November 29, 1223, Honorius III. wrote "to Bro. Francis and the other brothers of the Order of Friars Minor," he confirmed "Ordinis vestri regulam a b. m. Innocentio . . . approbatam, annotatam præsentibus." Eubel, *Bullar.*, p. 225, or Pressutti, *Reg. Hon.*, n. 4582. See also the words of St. Francis himself in his *Testament*: "Et ego paucis verbis et simpliciter feci scribi—viz., his simple rule of life—et d. Papa confirmavit mihi," p. 310, ed. Sabatier (at the end of his *Spec. Perfect.*); those of his early biographers, of Jacques de Vitry, *Hist.*, ii. 32, p. 350, ed. Douay, and of Bro. Elias in a letter ap. *M. G. S.S.*, xxx. p. 294 f. Some of these authorities, it is true, refer to the second rule of St. Francis, addressed to Pope Honorius III. But Fr. Robinson has proved the substantial identity of the two rules. *Writings of St. Francis*, p. 29 ff.

³ In view, we may suppose, of the probability that Innocent's "verbal approval" was given originally "in consistory," and of the fact that later writers read "council" for "consistory," it is supposed by some moderns that "consistory" here denotes "council," and that we should understand that the rule was subsequently approved by the Lateran Council. *Cf. infra*, p. 283 n. 3.

and reverence," his brethren, in virtue of the Pope's injunction, promised the saint in like manner obedience and reverence.¹ But it was reserved for Honorius III. to give the formal sanction to the Order of Friars Minor by a solemn bull.² "The Primitive Rule," to which Innocent had thus given a verbal authorisation, "was the programme of an adventure of faith; and it was in the spirit of high adventure that Pope Innocent approved it. But Innocent himself had ever been bold in adventure for the faith which was in him, as his successors learned when they came to steer the heritage which he left them amidst the shoals of secular diplomacy. And stern . . . and magnificent as the Pontiff was, he perhaps felt a certain spiritual kinship with the gentle, lowly Francis in the adventurousness of faith which was common to them both."³

Once more before his death did the great Pope come into contact with the great saint. That Francis was one of the thousands who assembled in Rome for the solemn Lateran Council there can be no reasonable doubt, if only from the casual way in which the fact is mentioned by Gérard de Frachet in his *Lives of the Brethren*. He tells of a vision that St. Dominic had

SS. Francis
and
Dominic
meet at the
Lateran
Council,
1215.

¹ *The Three Comps.*, c. 12, n. 52. Cf. Angelo Clareno (†an old man, 1337), *Expositio regulæ*, p. 4 ff., ed. Oliger, 1912; *Spec. Perfect.*, n. 26; see n. 1, where the fact that Innocent confirmed the saint's rule "without a bull" is specifically stated. The obedience and reverence which he had promised to Rome Francis always observed. "Amidst and above all else he pronounced that the faith of the Holy Roman Church, wherein alone consists the salvation of all that are saved, must be kept, revered, and imitated." Celano, *Vit. I.*, c. 22, n. 62. Cf. the beginning of the first rule of St. Francis. "Bro. Francis, and whoever may be at the head of this religion, promises obedience and reverence to our lord Pope Innocent, and to his successors."

² "Cujus [St. Francis] regulam primo approbavit Innocentius III., postea confirmavit Honorius." Salimbene, *Chron.*, p. 657.

³ Fr. Cuthbert, p. 91.

in which he saw the one who was to be his fellow-labourer, and whom on the morrow he recognised to be Blessed Francis. He tells us, moreover, that the vision took place "when St. Dominic our father was in Rome, during the sitting of the Lateran Council, pressing his suit before God and the Pope for the confirmation of his order."¹

Sanction (?)
by Inno-
cent of the
Rule of St.
Francis
at the
Lateran
Council.

The meeting of the two saints has inspired the production of many a beautiful work of art, and is no doubt an historical fact; but it cannot be said to be so certain that any kind of approval was given either to the Franciscan or to the Dominican Order by the Lateran Council. At any rate it is certain that the council forbade the introduction of new religious orders. Its thirteenth canon ran: "For fear lest very great diversity of religious rules should produce grievous confusion in the Church, we forbid any further production of new ones. Whoever wishes to embrace the religious life may adopt one of the rules which have been already approved. In like manner, he who in future may wish to found a new monastic house shall make use of one of the recognised rules." On the other hand, the mind of Innocent himself would not appear to have been quite the same as that of the council. He had already approved of the Trinitarians and of the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost, and had certainly given a verbal approval to the rule of St. Francis, and apparently rather more to the rule of St. Clare, "the little flower of St. Francis" as she called herself, "the chief rival of Blessed Francis in the observance of Gospel perfection" as she was called by

¹ *Vitæ Fratrum*, pars i. c. 1. Gerard lets us know his authority for the story. It was "a friar minor, who had long been the companion of St. Francis, and who told some of our brethren, one of whom in turn told it to Brother Jordan, then master of the order." *Ib.* Cf. *Chron. XXIV. General.*, ap. *Analecta Franc.*, iii. 9. This chronicle was compiled about 1374.

others.¹ In her *Life*, which was written down "on the very morrow of her death," and is attributed to Thomas of Celano, we read: "Wishing that her order should bear the title of poverty, Clare petitioned Innocent III., of happy memory, for the privilege of poverty. This magnanimous man, congratulating the virgin upon such fervour, declared hers to be a unique proposal, since never before had a like privilege been demanded of the Apostolic See. And in order that an unusual favour might respond to an unusual request, the Pontiff, with great joy, himself wrote with his own hand the first letters of the privilege asked for."²

In addition to this, we have the following definite statement of Angelo Clareno, one of the party of the strict observance, who appears to have known Brother Leo, the secretary of St. Francis, his "little lamb of God." Angelo declares that Innocent, after his verbal approbation of the rule of St. Francis, "in the general council which he held in Rome in the year of our Lord 1215, informed all the prelates that he had sanctioned a rule of life for St. Francis and those who wished to follow him."³ From this assertion of a well-informed if partisan writer, taken in conjunction with the other evidence, we may perhaps conclude that, though no formal sanction was given by the council to the Rule of St. Francis, the

¹ *Speculum Perfect.*, x. 108, p. 214, ed. Sabatier.

² *Vit.*, p. 26 of Fr. Paschal Robinson's trans., London, 1910. In her will, Clare testified that she asked Innocent III. and his successors to confirm by their privileges "our profession of most holy poverty." Quoted *ib.*, p. 143. The *Privilegium Paupertatis*, by which "you may never be forced by any one to receive possessions," was finally granted by Gregory IX. on September 17, 1228.

³ *Expos. reg.*, p. 6. From p. 16, *ib.*, it is clear that Angelo rested his statement on a passage of Bro. Leo's lost *Intentio Regulæ*, which was certainly written in the thirteenth century. But it is perhaps a question whether the simple "in concilio" of Bro. Leo is not a mistake for the "in consistorio" of the *Spec. Perfect.*, etc. *Cf. supra*, p. 280 n. 3.

Pope caused it to be regarded by the assembled Fathers as one of the already recognised rules.

St. Dominic and his quest, 1215.

St. Dominic had come to Rome on a similar errand to that of St. Francis. His experiences in Languedoc had convinced him that one at least of the needs of the hour for the Church was a body of men who, while living a simple life, should have learning enough to reply in their sermons to the arguments put forward by heretics to defend their position. As Francis would win men to God's service through their hearts, Dominic would gain them for Him by their minds.

But when he proposed another new order to Innocent the Pope hesitated. The work of an order of preachers spread over the Catholic world seemed to be opposed to the functions of the bishops.¹ Finally, however, though he would not altogether approve of Dominic's plan, he would not wholly condemn it. The saint was bidden to return to his brethren, to select an approved rule, and to fix his own constitutions into its framework.² The canon of the Lateran was saved, and the idea of Dominic was not lost; and if it was reserved for Honorius III. to issue the formal sanction of the Dominican Order (December 22, 1216), it was the genius of Innocent which realised that it, along with the Little Brothers of St. Francis, would be the great bulwark of the Church for many generations.³ He realised that the time had come for new methods of work in the Church, and that, while the sons of St. Francis would touch the heart and bring consolation to the poor and to the lowly, those of

¹ Cf. Mortier, *Hist. des maîtres gen.*, i. 25.

² Jordan of Saxony, n. 31, p. 12; Constantine of Orvieto, p. 28, both ap. Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ord. Predicat.*, vol. i. Cf. Humbert, *Chron.*, ann. 1215-16.

³ "The founders of these orders, Dominic and Francis, like the two trumpets of Moses, roused the world sleeping in sin to fight against the triple enemy by the resounding clangour of their preaching." *Ann. S. Justinæ Patav.*, an. 1215, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. p. 151.

St. Dominic would illumine the minds of the learned and supply their intellectual weapons to those who had to fight the Church's battles. If it was Francis and Dominic that planted, and if it was God who gave the increase, it was Pope Innocent III. who watered.

We cannot pause to narrate at length how Innocent, who sanctioned orders to combat intellectual error,¹ moral depravity, and bodily sickness, also approved of the Teutonic Knights of the Sword,² the Knights of Calatrava,³ and other associations of warriors to fight the fierce heathen and the aggressive Moslem. But before telling how Christendom at the Lateran Council sanctioned his truly heroic labours for God and man, we may briefly say something of his more direct action on the laity. He strove to reform and to protect them as he strove to reform and to protect the clergy.

In days when brute force so often interfered with the course of justice, it was highly desirable that there should be places where men might find security from arbitrary violence. Hence from the earliest times there were cities of refuge, places of sanctuary. In Christian times churches generally came to be regarded as places of sanctuary, and by degrees certain churches were recognised by law as enjoying "more permanent and extended" rights of sanctuary. The need of these sanctuaries may be gathered from the fact that "there were usually a thousand persons in

Reform
and pro-
tection of
the laity.

Sanctu-
aries.

¹ Cf. also his condemnation of ordeals, ep. xiv. 138.

² Cf. Jacques de Vitry, *Hist.*, i. c. 66, and Peter de Dusburg (fl. 1326), *Cron. Terre Prussie*, pref., pp. 24, 27, and 29, ed. Hirsch, who tells of the various papal confirmations of the order.

³ They added, we are told, to the rules of the Cistercian Order, "by the authority of the Supreme Pontiff and by the consent of the whole order," a vow to fight against the Saracens and other enemies of the Christian name. Pope Innocent, "pitying their toils in time of war, gave them permission to eat meat." Such is the language of Jacques de Vitry, *Hist.*, ii. c. 16, p. 307, ed. Douay, 1597; see also *ib.*, ii. 53. Cf. Burke-Hume, *Hist. of Spain*, i. 247.

sanctuary during any given year" in England alone.¹ These "green spots in the wilderness, where the feeble and the persecuted could find refuge,"² were naturally sacred to Innocent, and he religiously followed in the footsteps of his predecessors in protecting them.³

If it was mainly in the interests of the laity that Innocent upheld the rights of sanctuary, it was as much perhaps in the interests of the clergy as of the laity that he so frequently condemned usury.⁴ At any rate, it was certainly to raise the moral standard of the lives of laymen that he strenuously opposed laxity in the observance of the marriage laws;⁵ and it was to safeguard their freedom and their property that he took under his special protection kings,⁶ dukes,⁷ landgraves,⁸ counts,⁹ noble men and women,¹⁰ and even the persecuted Jews.¹¹

¹ Cf. the admirable work of the Rev. J. C. Cox, *The Sanctuary and Sanctuary Seekers of Mediæval England*, p. 33.

² Hallam, *Middle Ages*, p. 605, ed. 1868.

³ Ep. iii. 5, to the king of Connaught. The chartulary of the famous church of St. Martin le Grand in London shows that its sanctuary privileges were supported by Innocent. Extracts from the chartulary, "in a fifteenth-century hand," are to be found in Brit. Mus. Lansd. MSS., No. 170. The Rev. J. C. Cox kindly again examined the MS. for me, and wrote to me as follows: "The first papal bull (in behalf of the said sanctuary) is that of Alexander II., dated 1068. The second is of Honorius II., in the seventh year of his pontificate. The third is of Lucius II., 1144. These are followed by confirmatory bulls of Gregory VIII. and IX., Clement III. and IV., John XX., and Innocent III."

⁴ i. 399, and ep. 190, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217.

⁵ *Gesta*, c. 58.

⁶ i. 441, the king of Portugal; i. 437, the king of Jerusalem; xii. 157, the king of Denmark.

⁷ x. 5, the duke of Saxony; xi. 2, the duke of Austria; vi. 157, the duke of Hungary.

⁸ vi. 42, the Landgrave of Thuringia.

⁹ ii. 45, the count of Flanders; ii. 182, the count of Lecce.

¹⁰ i. 378, ii. 297, iii. 57, xiv. 115, the daughter of the king of Portugal; ii. 234, a poor Jewish convert.

¹¹ ii. 302. Still, vii. 186, he is severe with them on account of their usurious practices.

Innocent's earnestness in the cause of reform may be estimated by the resolute manner in which he endeavoured to break down the obstacles which stood in its way. Unfortunately, as we shall see, he was unable, or, under the circumstances, was unwilling to attack all the abuses which opposed the progress of reform, but at any rate he boldly assailed many of them. He condemned abuse "of the privilege of clergy," ordering that those who had had themselves tonsured to escape the penalties of their evil deeds should, if they refused to amend their lives, be deprived of "that immunity which is recognised as having been instituted for the protection of the clergy, and to restrain the violence of the laity."¹ Equally was he opposed to the abuse of the employment of the power of excommunication,² and of the right of appeal to Rome.³ This latter abuse he strove to lessen by very frequently ordering cases to be settled by the ordinary, and at the same time refusing to allow any appeal to himself, and by decreeing that no advantages secured at Rome were to be of any avail, unless reference had been made to the local authority.⁴

Innocent
clears away
obstacles
in the path
of reform.

The good work of the Pope was often hindered and, as he complained, "the authority of the Apostolic See injured" ⁵ by the work of forgers. Papal bulls were being forged and carried everywhere,⁶ and there was quite a trade in producing an imitation "of our (leaden) bulla

Forgers.

¹ xv. 202.

² xii. 37, xv. 100.

³ v. 23-4, to the bishop of Worcester, and 33.

⁴ "Constituamus ut si quis, prætermisssa iudicis sui auctoritate ad nos accesserit, et litteras impetraverit, nisi ad iudicem impetret ordinarium, ei nullum afferant penitus suffragium." Ep. x. 15.

⁵ "Ex cujus falsitatis ingenio quot et quanta mala proveniant, cum per eam et innocentes quandoque damnentur et rei ab objectis criminibus absolvantur nec non et apostolicæ sedis lædatur auctoritas, ipsa rei evidens malitia protestatur." Ep. i. 235.

⁶ Cf. ep. i. 129, 262, *re* Spain; i. 540, Hungary; iii. 37, Dalmatia; ii. 29, Scotland; R. I., epp. 21, 96, Germany; *Gesta*, c. 42, Milan; etc.

which is stamped with the images of the apostles, and which is used in transacting the business of the whole of Christendom.”¹ Already in May 1198 Innocent had occasion to notify the archbishops of Christendom and their suffragans that there had lately been seized in Rome itself a number of forgers who had in their possession bulls furnished with false leaden seals (*bullæ*) purporting to be issued by himself or by his predecessor.²

Innocent, therefore, under the strictest penalties, forbade any one to accept any apostolic letters, except from himself or from the properly authorised persons of his chancery. The bishops generally were instructed to examine suspected bulls most carefully, to make it known that those were excommunicated who kept in their possession for more than fifteen days bulls known to be forged, and to imprison bearers of such forgeries during the Pope's good pleasure.³ In order to facilitate detection of the forgeries, Innocent affixed to the documents which conveyed these instructions to the bishops one of the false bullæ as well as his genuine bulla.⁴

He had even with great indignation to call attention to thefts from the papal registers themselves, pointing out that one could scarcely be guilty of a greater offence

¹ i. 235.

² *Ib.* The Pope attributes the unavoidable delay in getting through the great number of cases which were referred to him as one reason why men were tempted to procure false bulls.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.* “Præsentibus litteris unam de bullis falsis cum vera Bulla duximus appendendam. Ep. i. 349 is very interesting, as it explains many of the different ways in which the forgeries were executed; e.g., by fixing genuine bullæ, got from old letters, on to forged letters, etc. Some forgeries, he says, can only be discovered by examining the literary style of the documents, or the handwriting or the quality of the parchment. (Cf. Delisle, *Memoire*, p. 47 ff.) In ep. iii. 37 he says something about the style of papal letters; and in ep. 234, ap. P. L., t. 217, about the bullæ. Cf. *Chron. abbat. de Evesham*, p. 161.

against the Roman Church than to steal "the registers and other books" in which the privileges of the different churches are contained. For, urged the Pope, it is only by recurrence to the registers that doubts can be settled as to whether certain letters have ever been issued by the papal chancery or not.¹

Unfortunately, however, though he agreed to certain Provisions, safeguards in the appointment of his nominees,² Innocent perpetuated the practice of *Provisions*.³ Kings had long been making use of the *Church* as a convenient way of rewarding those whom they wished from one cause or another to recompense. And now the Popes, whose income was constantly being abridged either by the emperor or by the Senate, and who had the work of the world to perform, found themselves wholly unable to reward those to whom in every land they were indebted except by requiring the local ecclesiastical authorities to appoint their nominees to the next vacant canonry or other benefice. In a word, Innocent continued the system of Provisions. He provided for his friends, for some of his relatives in sacred orders, and for his faithful and devoted servants by requiring the bishops and other ecclesiastical authorities in the various countries of Christendom to reserve some "living" for them.⁴ No excessive demands were, however, made by him, and consequently but little hostile criticism or opposition was anywhere aroused. Had the practice of Provisions been carried no further than it was carried by Innocent III., no evil results would have ensued.

Still, with all his efforts at internal and external reform, even Innocent could not prevent himself and his court

¹ i. 540 and 549.

² x. 152.

³ Cf. *supra*, vol. x. p. 52 f.

⁴ Ep. ii. 51; 195, in behalf of a *scriptor* of the papal chancery; 275; xi. 128, for his nephew Stephen. Cf. also J. Bernoulli, *Acta pontificia Helvetica*, n. 22, vol. i. p. 19, Basel, 1891.

from being almost overwhelmed by the mass of worldly occupations which were forced upon them. He felt and, as we have seen, at the beginning of his pontificate complained about its oppression of his spiritual aspirations. From the words of Jacques de Vitry, who visited the Roman court at Perugia just after Innocent's death, but before his burial, it appears that the worldly cares were there still. De Vitry, who was, it must be borne in mind, rather prone in his censures to hasty generalisations, says that while, during his stay at Perugia with the Curia, he was comforted by the sight of the virtue of the Friars Minor, who "are highly esteemed both by the Pope and by the Cardinals," "he saw much with which he was entirely dissatisfied. All were so taken up with worldly and temporal affairs, with kings and kingdoms, lawsuits and quarrels, that they would scarcely permit a word on spiritual matters."¹

The sum-
moning of
the twelfth
general
council,
1213.

Although material for a much more elaborate account of Innocent's labours in the cause of reform, and indeed of all his other works than we have attempted to give, is easily accessible, we must now pass on to his last important act—the holding of the fourth general council of the Lateran. It was his wish to lay before the representatives of Europe all that he had done, and all that he wished to do; and, as the event proved, the decrees of the council, issued with the approval of nearly all that was wise and good, great and powerful in the Christian world, were a vote of confidence that was truly worldwide in the deeds and aims of the splendid Pontiff who brought it together.

To allow plenty of time for preliminary deliberations, Innocent issued on April 19, 1213, the circular

¹ Cf. the letter which Jacques sent from Genoa in October 1216 to his friends, ap. Boehmer, *Analekten*, n. 7, p. 98, or ap. Sabatier, p. 295 ff. at the end of his ed. of the *Speculum Perfecti*. The Register of Innocent is quite sufficient to show that we have here rather more of French satire than of strict truth.

"Vineam Domini Sabaoth" to call the spiritual and temporal rulers of the Catholic world to meet together in Rome in November 1215.¹ They were summoned to deliberate especially on the needs of the Holy Land and on the reformation of the Church, which heresy had rendered especially necessary; and they were summoned by the words of the Pope's legates² as well as by his letters. But while they were called together primarily for purposes more or less spiritual, they were also invited in order to discuss the best means of promoting international peace and civil liberty.³

To ensure the safety of those who were summoned to the Council, Innocent authorised the expenditure of considerable sums of money through the senator Pandulf de Judice in procuring patrols to guard the roads, and garrisons for the towers in and around the city of Rome.⁴

The result of the Pope's letters and of the exhortations of his legates was that towards the autumn of 1215 so many people assembled in Rome that "the whole world seemed to be there." There appeared in the first place all that was great and learned in the Church,⁵ some four

The
gathering
in Rome,
1215.

¹ Ep. xvi. 30. Cf. *ib.*, 31-6, 181. Cf. *Annales Ceccan.*, and *Chron. Ursperg.*, and Roger of Wendover, an. 1215, iii. p. 322, ed. Coxe, who notes that the prelates were summoned to attend under pain of canonical punishment "sicut canonicam volunt effugere ultionem."

² "Hac causa [the general council] in omnes partes orbis Romani a latere suo viros transmisit industrios" (Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale*, an. 1213, ii. 214, R. S.), and according to the *Chronicle of Melrose*, an. 1212, these legates were "great lights . . . doctors of most holy conversation and of most refined learning."

³ "Convocemus . . . ad sopiendas discordias et stabiliendam pacem, comprimendas oppressiones, et libertatem fovendam." Ep. xvi. 30.

⁴ Cf. Pandulf's receipt of money (April 22, 1217) received from Honorius III. in payment of that which he had spent in carrying out Innocent's orders "pro pace et quiete sancti synodi," ap. Faber, *Liber Cens.*, i. p. 259.

⁵ "In quo [the council] convenerant excellentiores et literatores persone ecclesiastice totius christianitatis, ut orbis in eo contineri

hundred and twelve bishops, including, among seventy-one primates, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and representatives of those of Antioch and Alexandria. An addition to the chronicle we are now citing assures us that there were also present five cardinal-bishops, nine cardinal-priests, and six cardinal-deacons. There were also present more than eight hundred abbots and priors and an unknown number of proctors of absent prelates and chapters.¹ From a list found by Luchaire² of four hundred of the bishoprics which were represented at this council, it appears that there were in Rome bishops from "the Byzantine Empire, the Latin states of Syria, Germany, France strictly so called, England, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Provence the kingdom of Arles, . . . Poland, Hungary, Dalmatia, Sardinia, Italy, Corsica, Sicily, and Cyprus." The bishops, however, from the East were mostly of Latin origin.

Representing the civil authorities were envoys from Frederick II., king of Sicily, emperor-elect of the Romans ; from his rival Otho ;³ from the emperor of Constantinople ; from the kings of France, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Aragon ; from other ruling princes and nobles ; and from cities and other localities also, such as Genoa, Milan, Piacenza, Cremona, etc.⁴ There were, in a word,

videretur." Cf. a special addition to the Annals of Jumièges, *Ann. Gemmeticens.*, an. 1215, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 510.

¹ Andreæ Marchianensis, *Hist. regum Francor. contin.*, an. 1215, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 213.

² Cf. his article, "Innocent III. et le quatr. conc. de Latran," p. 231 f., ap. *Rev. historique*, t. 97, March 1908. Of this article and its continuation we have made the freest use. See also Append. III. to Leclercq's ed. of Hefele's *Councils*, vol. v. p. 1722 ff.

³ So say the *Ann. Stadenses*, an. 1215, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 356.

⁴ Cf. *Ann. Herbipolenses*, *Stadenses*, *Pegavenses*, etc., ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. ; *Engelbergenses*, etc., ap. *ib.*, xvii., etc.

so many attending the council that we read of some being crushed to death.¹

Apart from subsidiary meetings, three formal sessions of the council were held on November 11, 20, and 30. At the first public session Innocent himself preached to the assembled multitude, taking for his text: "With desire have I desired to eat this pasch with you before I suffer" (St. Luke xxii. 15), *i.e.*, added the Pope, "before I die." He first touched upon the state of the Holy Land, and in impassioned tones proclaimed the disgrace which had fallen on the Christian name seeing that "the sons of the bond-woman (Agar), the most detestable (*vilissimi*) Agareni (Saracens), hold our mother, the mother of all the faithful, in bondage." He declared that he was at the service of the council, ready, if it saw fit, to go himself in order to rouse the nations to free the land which the Redeemer had purchased by His blood. Whatever others may do, he continued, we priests must be ready to sacrifice our persons and our goods for the sacred cause. But if we are to effect anything we must be virtuous, for from the wickedness of the priests flows the evil of the world.²

At the public sessions were debated the needs of the Holy Land, the Albigensian heresy, the rebellion of the barons of England against King John,³ and the claims of Frederick II., "the king of the priests," as against

¹ *The Chronicle of Melrose*, an. 1215; *Chron. Bern. Iterii*, an. 1215, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 436; *Chron. S. Petri Erford.*, an. 1215, p. 214, ed. Holder-Egger; *Chron. S. Bertini*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxv. pp. 831-2.

² "Hinc" from the sins of priests "etiam mala provenerunt in populo Christiano. Perit fides, religio deformatur, libertas confunditur, justitia conculcatur, hæretici pullulant, inolescunt schismatici, perfidi sæviunt, prævalent Agareni." Sermon vi., ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 6, 8. Sermon vii., *ib.*, is also there stated to have been preached by Innocent at the council, but it does not seem likely, as it contains no reference to it.

³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 151 ff.

those of Otho.¹ This last topic raised quite a storm, when the Milanese, taking up Otho's cause with vigour, were reminded by the marquis of Montferrat that they themselves by their patronage of heresy were out of court.² All these sessions were presided over by the Pope in person; but the third one appears to have been opened with special pomp, as Richard of San Germano, an eye-witness, assures us that Innocent came forth in the midst of his court and guards "like a bridegroom from his nuptial chamber."

Proposals
to relieve
papal
financial
difficulties
made (a) by
Henry VI.;

We cannot here enumerate the many other questions concerning Church organisation,³ canon law, and the Liturgy which came up for settlement at this time, and were dealt with by one or other of the committees appointed for the purpose. Attention must, however, be called to the council's seventy canons, which for the benefit of the Greeks were issued with an indifferent Greek translation.

But, before touching on these important decrees, a few words may be devoted to a scheme put forward by Innocent for the securing to the Holy See of such an assured revenue that all necessity would be removed of its having to exact fees or "presents" for the transaction of business. The accusations of avarice which were often freely and recklessly made against the Holy See would then have no basis whatever. It is Giraldus Cambrensis who tells us of this scheme, and,⁴ according

¹ The most satisfactory account of the council is given by Richard of San Germano, "qui interfui et vidi." *Chron.*, p. 90, ed. Gaudenzi. He notes that one of the charges against Otho was: "quia in contemptum Romane ecclesie regem Fredericum regem appellavit presbyterorum." P. 91.

² *Ib.*, p. 94.

³ *E.g.*, the primacy of Toledo; a new bishopric for Bavaria; the erection of an archbishopric of the Latin rite in Cyprus, etc.

⁴ *Speculum ecclesie*, D. iv. c. 19, vol. iv. p. 301 ff., R. S.

to him, it originated, strange to say, with the Emperor Henry VI.

That monarch realised that the poverty of the Holy See forced it to institute such pecuniary arrangements that the charge of avarice could with no little plausibility be urged against it. He further recognised that this poverty had been largely brought about by the action of his predecessors in plundering and annexing papal territory. But as he was unwilling to restore what they had taken away, and as he was perhaps unable to force the other robbers to restore their ill-gotten goods,¹ he put forward a plan to remedy the evil results of this robbery. The remedy he proposed was, of course, not at his expense. He suggested that the best canonry in every cathedral church in the empire should be made over to the Pope for his support, and a suitable number of prebends for that of the cardinals and the papal court generally. A general council was to be summoned, and the other nations of the Catholic world were to be induced to make similar grants.

Henry died whilst maturing his scheme, which recom- ^{(b) by}
mended itself to Innocent as a practical means of clearing Innocent;
away from the Apostolic See what he regarded as the degrading accusation of venality.² He accordingly proposed at the council that a tenth of all the revenues of the cathedrals should be definitely made over to the Roman Church. "Very many of the bishops and other influential men who were present spoke strongly in favour of the scheme, but it was vigorously opposed by

¹ "Terras et oppida prædiaque perampla . . . et a decessoribus suis injuriose sublata restituere nec voluit, nec alios per Italiam . . . ad restituendum ablata . . . propter ignaviam aut impotentiam compellere valuit." *Spec.*, p. 302.

² "Papa, ad relevandam Romanæ sedis inopiam vigilantem, ut fertur, curam adhibuit." *Ib.*, p. 305.

others.¹ Whether it was that they did not see why they should be taxed to remedy an evil caused by the civil powers, or whether they feared that if they granted an inch an ell would soon be demanded, or whether again they were themselves ungenerous, some of the bishops, at any rate, would not listen to the Pope's most reasonable suggestion. In consequence of this opposition, Innocent withdrew his proposal: "lest (the Holy See) might appear to have summoned the council for that reason."²

(c) by
Honorius
III.

We may here note that where Innocent failed his successor Honorius III. also failed. Although the latter's share in the attempt to forward this scheme will be discussed more at length in that Pope's biography, it will be useful to give here a portion of his letter on the subject to the clergy of England.³ Considering that as cardinal *camerarius* he was in close touch with Innocent, his presentment of the matter may be taken as that of his predecessor. "It has often come to our knowledge," wrote Honorius, "that many complain of the expenses to which they have been put in coming to the Holy See." After remarking that the stories on this subject were for the most part calumnies put forth by those who would deny to the Roman Church not merely what equity and kindness would concede to it, but what was actually demanded by justice, the Pope proceeded to say that those were special offenders in this matter who had spent on their own pleasures the monies given them for the trans-

¹ Cf. a letter of Honorius III. cited in the next note but one. "Nonne idem [this financial scheme] *quamplures* ecclesiarum prælati magnique testimonii viri tempore generalis concilii suadebant."

² So we are assured by Innocent's successor in the letter referred to in the next note.

³ This letter (January 28, 1225) has been preserved by Walter of Coventry, *Memor.*, an. 1225, ii. p. 274 ff., R. S., and also in the register of Bishop Poore of Salisbury, *Reg. S. Osmundi*, where it is given somewhat more fully. Cf. Roger of Wendover, *Floures hist.*, an. 1226 vol. iv. pp. 114 ff., 120 ff., ed. Coxe.

action of business. To remove, therefore, all cause of complaint against the Apostolic See under this head, he proposed to put into execution an old plan of his predecessors, and required that there should be set apart for the needs of the Holy See in its head and members a prebend in each cathedral and collegiate church, and certain revenues from each religious house. The revenues received from this source would allow of all business being transacted gratuitously, "except the usual fees for the issue of bulls."¹ Unfortunately, as we may well believe, for the future of the Church, the demands of Honorius shared the same fate as the proposals of Innocent. The prelates of Europe may have recognised, but they would not act on their belief, "that it was proper that the daughters should reach out their hands to help the mother who for their sakes was involved in many great undertakings."² Parsimony on the part of the prelates, or a short-sighted policy, or mistrust of Roman ideas about money, or all these causes combined, brought the same answer to this letter of Honorius as to the corresponding verbal proposals of Innocent.

The canons of the council covered a great variety of subjects. Some of them were new, many of them merely reaffirmed previous decrees. Some of them restated the Catholic faith in opposition especially to the teachings of the Albigensians and Joachim of Fiore,³ and the

The
canons
of the
council.

¹ *Ib.*, "præter bullæ redditum consuetum."

² *Ib.* "Annon licet, non decet, non expedit ut sic filiæ dexteram porrigant ad subsidia matris quæ præ occupationibus multis et magnis involvitur pro necessitatibus filiarum." Bearing in mind the origin of this plan and the good reasons for it, it is unpleasant to read: "It was *craftily* represented that the costliness of suits at Rome . . . was really a necessity of the poverty of the Roman Church." Stephens, *A Hist. of the English Church*, p. 225.

³ With reference to the Blessed Trinity. But the council was careful to note that they did not condemn his monastic foundations: "maxime cum idem Joachim omnia scripta sua nobis assignari

pantheistic doctrines of Amalric of Bena. The civil authorities, under pain of excommunication and various temporal penalties, must punish heretics; and those suspected of heresy must clear themselves of the suspicion under pain of excommunication, and then of being regarded as heretics. The bishops of each diocese must endeavour to find out who are heretics, and duly punish those whom they may discover.¹

The Jews, who were condemned for their usurious practices,² were, along with the Saracens, ordered to wear a distinctive dress, lest Christians should be deceived into marrying them;³ and it was forbidden to advance them to public offices.⁴

The Greeks were bidden to submit to the Roman Church, and the patriarch of Constantinople was recognised as first after the Pope.⁵ The important eighteenth canon of the third Lateran council was confirmed and extended. All churches with sufficient means were required to provide a master "to instruct their clerics and other poor scholars free of charge."⁶ Ordeals were forbidden, and while many canons were issued for the reform of the clergy, the regulation of judicial procedure, and the freedom of ecclesiastical elections, the laity were ordered to go to confession and communion at least once a year,⁷ and to pay the tithes.⁸ In future they

mandaverit, apostolicæ sedis approbanda, seu etiam corrigenda." Can. 2. Cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, xxix. c. 40, who says that Joachim "libros suos d. Papæ corrigendos obtulisse"; and ep. Honorius III. of December 17, 1220, ap. *Regest.*, ed. Pressutti, i. p. 476.

¹ Can. 3. Imprisonment and confiscation of goods are the only penalties against heretics mentioned in this canon.

² C. 67.

³ C. 68.

⁴ C. 69.

⁵ For to the Roman Church belongs the Primacy by divine institution. "Quæ [the Roman Church] disponente Domino super omnes alias ordinariæ potestatis obtinet principatum." Can. 5.

⁶ Can. 11.

⁷ Can. 21.

⁸ C. 53.

were to be allowed to marry up to the fourth degree of relationship.¹

Decrees, which unfortunately remained to no small degree ineffectual, were passed against the abuse of appeals, of the power of excommunication, and of the accumulation of benefices in the hands of one person.² Without going further, enough detail³ of the work of the council has now been given to enable one to judge of its relations towards the Pope.

Although, then, Innocent had to withdraw the scheme for rendering the financial position of the Holy See independent of Roman republicanism or imperial despotism, and although there was some opposition to the assignment of the territories of Raymond of Toulouse to Simon de Montfort; to the claims of Frederick II. to the Empire; and to the support given by the Pope to King John—still, all that is known of the views of perhaps the most representative gathering of the ecclesiastical and civil powers of Christendom that has ever been brought together, justifies the assertion that the policy of Innocent, whether in the Church or in the State, received the approval of the civilised world. Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, after telling of the opposition to the disinheritance of Raymond, adds that “the more numerous and sounder section of the council” approved of the step.⁴ What was true of the Albigensian affair was true of the Pope’s policy generally. Assembled Christendom passed a vote of confidence in Innocent. The grandest diet that Western

Innocent
and the
council.

¹ C. 50.

² Cann. 35, 37, 47, 29. An exception was made in the case of exalted and literary persons who by dispensation of the Apostolic See might hold more than one benefice—persons “quæ majoribus sunt beneficiis honorandæ.” This dispensing power was, at times, abused.

³ Contemporary chronicles only mention such of the canons as particularly interested their authors.

⁴ Petrus Sarnensis, *Hist.*, c. 83.

civilisation has known set its seal on the world-wide activities that will render for ever illustrious the pontificate of Lothario Conti.

The death
of Inno-
cent, 1216.

The great Pope had now all but done his gigantic work. He knew better than anyone how much remained to be done, and how imperfect must be accounted much of what had been done. But he had seen men testify their approval of what he had accomplished, and well might he hope to hear the "Well done, good and faithful servant" from his Maker.

Leaving Rome towards the middle of April 1216, passing through Viterbo, and consecrating an altar at Orvieto,¹ he reached Perugia towards the end of May. No doubt he went to that breezy hill-city to recruit a little after the labours of the council, before he proceeded to the north of Italy. He had left Rome to visit Genoa and Pisa in the hope of making peace between those warlike rivals, in order, especially, to further the interests of the Crusade.² Unfortunately, however, he fell into a tertian fever, from which he recovered, or seemed to recover, in a short time. Thinking himself quite well, he continued his habit of eating a considerable number of oranges (*citris*, not *cibis*, as in some readings) every day. The fever revived in an acute form, and he was seized with an attack of paralysis.³ Blood-letting was, as usual, resorted to; but, if he received any benefit from that operation, he was thrown back by the news that Prince Louis had invaded England.⁴ The indignation which this intelligence aroused in him was too much for

¹ Potthast, sub. 5106, from the *Annal. Ubevet.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.

² *Annal. Stadenses*, an. 1216, ap. *ib.*, xvi.

³ Will. the Breton, n. 220.

⁴ Jacobus de Guisia, or Jacque de Guise (†1399), *Ann. Hanoniae*, l. xx. c. 45. Although Jacobus lived long after the time of Innocent, his editor assures us that in this chapter he is following an old reliable author, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxx. 273 n.

his enfeebled condition. He fell into a lethargy,¹ and expired on July 16, 1216, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his pontificate.² The near approach of death had no terrors for him, for, as his successor tells us, he had prepared for it by penance, and had long desired to be with Christ, "in whom and through whom he had desired to live and die."³

Unfortunately, during the night after Innocent's death his body was not watched, and we learn from Jacques de Vitry, in a letter we have frequently cited,⁴ that the precious vestments in which it had been clad were stolen. Jacques himself, who entered the church where the corpse had been laid out, found it almost naked,⁵ and learnt, as he says, by ocular demonstration, how short and empty is all the glory of this world.

The body of the great Pope was laid to rest on the following day in the cathedral church of St. Lawrence, with the honour befitting one who had so worthily filled

Innocent's
corpse is
robbed.

Buria and
tomb of
Innocent.

¹ To the preceding authorities add *Hist. monast. S. Laurent. Leod.*, ap. Martene, *Amplis. coll.*, iv. 1097, and the others given by Potthast, *l.c.*

² Thomas of Eccleston, a Friar Minor, who did not write till over forty years after the death of Innocent, says that Popes Innocent IV., Gregory IX., Honorius III., and Innocent III. were abandoned by their whole households at the hour of their death, but that Innocent IV. was attended by Friars Minor, and that even St. Francis himself was present at the death-bed of Innocent III. But these worthy friar chroniclers were easily disposed to believe stories that tended to the credit of their order; and, in view of such phrases regarding Innocent's death as "*feliciter expiravit*" of contemporary authors, and of the words of Jacques de Vitry, it is scarcely safe to attach much credence to the unsupported evidence of Eccleston, at least with reference to Innocent III. He had no doubt received some confused account of the robbery mentioned in the text.

³ Ep. i. 7 of Hon. III., ed. Horoy, ii. p. 8 f.

⁴ Of October 1216, ap. Boehmer, *Analekten*, No. 4, p. 96.

⁵ "*Fere nudum et fœtidum.*" A similar story is told regarding Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, †1231 *Mat Par., Chron. maj.*, iii. p. 206.

the highest position on earth.¹ The marble sarcophagus in which the corpse was placed long remained near the window by the altar of St. Ercolano. Then, at some subsequent period, the remains of Innocent III. were joined to those of Urban IV. and Martin IV. At any rate, in the sixteenth century the historian Pellini assures us that the three bodies were together in a chest (*cassa*) which rested on an ambry in the sacristy of the new church which had been built in the fifteenth century. In 1615 the chest was opened, and while the bodies of Urban and Martin were found entire, there were left only a few bones of Innocent. The united remains were then translated to the chapel of St. Stephen,² in the left transept, as was set forth by a simple inscription on a miserable monument :

Ossa
 Trium Romanorum Pontificum
 Qui Perusiæ obierunt,
 Inocen. III. Urban. IV. Mart. IV.
 A. MCCXVI. a. MCCLXIV. a. MCCLXXXV.
 Ab hujus templi Sacratio
 Huc translata
 Anno MDCXV.³

It was not till our own time that a worthy monument was erected to "Innocent the Great."⁴ When he was bishop of Perugia, the sight of the wretched urn that contained the bones of Lothario Conti no doubt often moved the regrets of Joachim Pecci. At any rate, after he became Leo XIII., of most illustrious memory, he

¹ Honorius III., writing to the king of Jerusalem (July 25, 1216), after speaking of the death of Innocent, adds : "et sequenti die, celebratis exequiis ac cum honore debito ipsius corpore in sepulcro," etc. Ep. ap. *Reg.*, i. p. 1, ed. Pressutti.

² All this is vouched for by Bonazzi, *Storia di Perugia*, i. p. 269, Perugia, 1875.

³ I copied this inscription in August 1907.

⁴ So is he justly styled by the famous legate Albert von Beham in a letter, p. 144, ed. Höfler.

did not forget how little sepulchral honour was being shown to his glorious predecessor, and on December 28, 1891, caused to be erected in the basilica of St. John Lateran the fine monument of which we give an illustration. It bears the modest but telling inscription :

Leo XIII. Innocentio III. MDCCCXCI.¹

When Innocent became Pope all men were struck by his want of years ; at his death they were astounded by their fulness. He was, they exclaimed, "glorious in all his works," which were manifest alike "in the city and in the world,"² and they extolled him because "he lorded it over kings, kingdoms, and empires, drove out the proud heretic, exalted the Catholics, and sent the infidels into exile."³ Hence, remarked shrewd Brother Salimbene : "The Church flourished and was strong in his time, as he held the lordship over the Roman Empire and over all the kings and princes of the whole world. . . . And note that this Pope was a bold man stout of heart ; for once [here the gossip comes in] he tried on the Lord's seamless tunic,⁴ and thought, as he was getting into it, that the Lord was but of small stature. But when it was on him, it was much too large for him, and accordingly, now in fear, he venerated it as was becoming."⁵

¹ The monument was designed by G. Lucchetti. Cf. *Innocenzo III. ed il suo nuovo monumento in Roma*, by B. Labanca, Rome, 1892.

² So is he spoken of in different papal catalogues in *M. G. SS.*, xxii. pp. 370 and 362.

³ "Reges, regna et imperia domavit ; hereticos superbos expugnando expulit, catholicos exaltavit et infideles exulari cœgit." *Chron. Ign. Cisterc.*, an. 1216. p. 36, ed. Gaudenzi. Cf. a similar thought in Emo's *Chron.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. p. 474. "Qui contumaciam regum et aliorum principum compressit." And yet every week he washed the feet of twelve poor men. *Gesta*, c. 143.

⁴ *Chron.*, an. 1216, p. 31, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxii. p. 31. The editor, Holder-Egger, notes that the seamless tunic was preserved in the Lateran.

⁵ Speaking of the greatness and power of Innocent, the pompous contemporary writer Buoncompagno, while comparing the emperor

As we have no desire to cite all Innocent's contemporaries, as all speak in his praise,¹ we will but add from them that while the bad, the lax, and some at least of his political opponents rejoiced at his death,² good and earnest men sincerely mourned it.³ And, on our own behalf, to those who may urge that in other modern works on Innocent⁴ more is said of his failures than is to be found in this biography, we will but reply in the spirit evinced by Captain Mahan in his work on the last Boer War. After observing that in other books he had found that a very great deal had been written about what the British had failed to do in that war, he declared that it was his intention to set forth what they had done. The distinguished American historian then proceeded to show that, considering the difficulties in their way, they had

Otho for his stature with Saul, and Frederick II. with David, compares Innocent with God because he does whatever he wishes: "Potest Otto . . . in Saulum non propter magnitudinem staturæ transumi . . . et ipse Innocentius p. in Deum, quia omnia, quæcumque voluit, fecit." Quoted by Bithell, *The Minnesingers*, p. 95 n. The passage is no doubt taken from B.'s *Boncompagnus*, ed. Rockinger, in *Quellen zur bayer. Gesch.*, ix. 1863, i. pp. 121-174.

¹ Many are cited by Potthast, i. p. 460 f.

² Will. the Breton, n. 220; and, regarding Prince Louis in England, the *Hist. duc. Norman. et reg. Ang.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 717, says: "De ces nouveies [the death of the Pope] fu Looÿs moult lies."

³ Giraldus Camb., *Spec. eccles.*, D. iv. c. 19. Cf. Richard of St. Germanus, *Chron.*, an. 1226. In verse he invokes the coming of night, as the light of the world has gone out:

"Nox accede, quia cessit sol, lugeat orbis
In medio lucis lumen obisse suum.
Lumen obit mundi, quia decessit pater Inno-
Centius; iste pater Urbis et Orbis erat."

⁴ *E.g.*, in Dom H. Leclercq's additions to his new edition of the French translation of Hefele's well-known work on the *Councils*. Perhaps if the learned Benedictine had supplied his readers with more material regarding Innocent's doings, they would have been satisfied with less of modern writers' opinions about their value, importance, or moral worth.

accomplished what no other people had ever done before, and what, in his opinion, no other people would ever again be able to accomplish. Similarly, it has been the aim of this book to make known what Innocent III. actually effected, and, from the data even therein supplied, it may be permitted one to assert that, in the domain of international affairs, he accomplished what no other man had ever done before, and, mayhap, what no other man will ever again be able to accomplish.

It is assuredly true that too much was expected from the Popes of the Middle Ages. It has been even said that the career of Innocent III. is the best proof of this, and that he failed to effect what was demanded of him. However that may be, it is certain that neither he nor any medieval Pontiff had the mental and physical strength, the time, the money, the diplomatic machinery or the material power sufficient to accomplish all that they were asked to do by kings and peoples, and by bishops and clergy, from the North and the South and the East and the West. Nevertheless, incomplete as this biography is in many respects, it has shown that, despite his shortcomings and failures, Innocent wrought many works well worthy of everlasting remembrance.

“Urbis et orbis apex animarum rector, habenas
Hujus et hujus habens, rex in utroque potens.
Imperiale decus et cleri culmen adeptus
Mitior ad Christum cuncta referre cupit.”¹

¹ Holding, says Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, i. 368, R. S., the reins both of the world and of the city, he strove to refer all things to Christ.

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